In the Name of Allah,
The All-beneficent, the All-merciful

قال الله تعالى:

إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ ٱللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنكُمُ ٱلرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ ٱلْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا

Indeed, Allah desires to repel all impurity from you, O People of the Household, and purify you with a thorough purification.

(*Sūrah al-Aḥzāb* 33:33).

Prophetic traditions, mentioned in most reliable Sunnī and Shī ʿite reference books of *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* (Qur'ānic Exegesis), confirm that this holy Qur'ānic verse was revealed to exclusively involve the five People of the Mantle; namely, Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon them, to whom the term "Ahl al-Bayt (People of the House)" is solely dedicated.

For instance, refer to the following references:

(1) Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241 AH), *al-Musnad*, 1:331; 4:107; 6:292, 304. (2) *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (d. 261 AH), 7:130. (3) Al-Tirmidhī (d. 279 AH), *Sunan*, 5:361 et al. (4) Al-Dūlābī (d. 310 AH), *al-Dhurriyyah al-Ṭāhirah al-Nabawiyyah*, p. 108. (5) Al-Nassā'ī (d. 303 AH), *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 5: p. 108, 113. (6) Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405 AH), *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, 2:416, 3:133, 146, 147. (7) Al-Zarkashī (d. 794 AH), *al-Burhān*, p. 197. (8) Ibn Hājar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852), *Fatḥ al-Barī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 7:104.

As for Shī ʿite reference books of *ḥadīth*, refer to the following references:

(1) Al-Kulaynī (d. 328 AH), *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, 1:287. (2) Ibn Bābawayh (d. 329 AH), *al-Imāmah wa'l-Tabṣirah*, p. 47, Ḥ. 29. (3) Al-Maghribī (d. 363 AH), *Daʿā'im al-Islām*, pp. 35, 37. (4) Al-Ṣadūq (d. 381 AH), *al-Khiṣāl*, pp. 403, 550. (5) al-Ṭūsī (d. 460 AH), *al-Amālī*, Ḥ. 438, 482, 783.

For more details, refer to the exegesis of the holy Qur'ānic verse involved in the following reference books of *tafsīr*: (1) Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310 AH), *Book of Tafsīr*. (2) Al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370 AH), *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*. (3) Al-Waḥīdī (d. 468 AH), *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*. (4) Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597 AH), *Zād al-Masīr*. (5) Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671 AH), *al-Jāmiʿ li-Aḥkām al-*Qur'ān. (6) Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 AH), *Book of Tafsīr*. (7) Al-Thaʿālibī (d. 825 AH), *Book of Tafsīr*. (8) Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH), *al-Durr al-Manthūr*. (9) al-Shawkānī (d. 1250 AH), *Fatḥ al-Qadīr*. (10) Al-ʿAyyāshī (d. 320 AH), *Book of Tafsīr*. (11) Al-Qummī (d. 329 AH), *Book of Tafsīr.* (12) Furāt al-Kūfī (d. 352 AH), *Book of Tafsīr*; in the margin of the exegesis of verse 4:59. (13) Al-Ṭabrisī (d. 560 AH), *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, as well as many other reference books of *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*.

THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE

AS NARRATED BY THE AHL AL-BAYT

قَالَ رَسُولُ الله ﷺ:

إِنِّي تَارِكٌ فِيكُمُ الثَّقَلَيْنِ: كِتَابَ الله وَعِتْرَتِي أَهْلَ بَيْتِي، مَا إِنْ تَمَسَّكْتُمْ بِهِمَا لَنْ تَضِلُّوا بَعْدِي أَبَداً، وَإِنَّهُمَا لَنْ يَفْتَرِقَا حَتَّى يَرِدَا عَلَيَّ الْحَوْضَ.

The Messenger of Allah *(peace and blessings of Allah be upon him and upon his Household)* said:

"Verily, I am leaving among you two precious things [*thaqalayn*]: The Book of Allah and my progeny [*'itrah*], the members of my Household [*Ahl al-Bayt*]. If you hold fast to them, you shall never go astray. These two will never separate from each other until they meet me at the Pond [*ḥawḍ*] (of *Kawthar*)."

Some references:

Al-Ḥākim al-Nayshābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (Beirut), vol. 3, pp. 109.110, 148, 533

Muslim, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, (English translation), book 31, *ḥadīths* 5920.3

At-Tirmidhī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 621.2, *ḥadīths* 3786, 3788; vol. 2, p. 219

Al-Nassā'ī, *Khaṣā'iṣ 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, *ḥadīth* 79

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, vol. 3, pp. 14, 17, 26; vol. 3, pp. 26, 59; vol. 4, p. 371; vol. 5, pp. 181.182, 189.190

Ibn al-Athīr, *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl*, vol. 1, p. 277

Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 209

Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al*-Qur'ān *al-'Aẓīm*, vol. 6, p. 199

Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-Aḥādīth al-ṣaḥīḥah* (Kuwait: Al-Dar al-Salafiyyah), vol. 4, pp. 355.358

THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE

AS NARRATED BY THE AHL AL-BAYT

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PREFACE

The invaluable legacy of the Household [*Ahl al-Bayt*] of the Prophet (may peace be upon them all), as preserved by their followers, is a comprehensive school of thought that embraces all branches of Islamic knowledge. This school has produced many brilliant scholars who have drawn inspiration from this rich and pure resource. It has provided the Muslim community with many scholars whom, following in the footsteps of Imams of the Prophet's Household (ʿa), have done their best to clear up the doubts raised by various creeds and currents within and without Muslim society and to answer their questions. Throughout the past centuries, they have given well-reasoned answers and clarifications concerning these questions and doubts.

To meet the responsibilities assigned to it, the Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly (abwa) has embarked on a defense of the sanctity of the Islamic message and its verities, often obscured by the partisans of various sects and creeds as well as by currents hostile to Islam. The Assembly follows in the footsteps of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) and the disciples of their school of thought in its readiness to confront these challenges and tries to be on the frontline in consonance with the demands of every age.

The arguments contained in the works of the scholars belonging to the School of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) are of unique significance. That is because they are based on genuine scholarship and appeal to reason, and avoid prejudice and bias. These arguments address scholars and thinkers in a manner that appeals to healthy minds and wholesome human nature.

To assist the seekers of truth, the Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly has endeavored to present a new phase of these arguments contained in the studies and translations of the works of contemporary Shīʿah writers and those who have embraced this sublime school of thought through divine blessing.

The Assembly is also engaged in editing and publishing valuable works by leading Shīʿah scholars of earlier ages to assist the seekers of the truth in discovering the truths which the School of the Prophet's Household (ʿa) has offered to the entire world.

The Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly looks forward to benefit from the opinions

of the readers and their suggestions and constructive criticism in this area.

We also invite scholars, translators and other institutions to assist us in propagating the genuine Islamic teachings as preached by the Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ).

We beseech God, the Most High, to accept our humble efforts and to enable us to enhance them under the auspices of Imam al-Mahdī, His vicegerent on the earth (may Allah expedite his advent).

We express our gratitude to Shaykh Hussein al-Wathiqi the author of the present book, and Mr. ʿUmar Kumo, its translator. We also thank our colleagues who have participated in producing this work, especially the staff of the Translation Office.

Cultural Affairs Department
Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) World Assembly

FOREWORD

In the Name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

May God be praised! We praise Him, seek His help, ask for His forgiveness and return to Him in repentance. We also seek refuge with Him from the evil of our selves and the evil of our deeds. No one can lead astray him whom God guides, but he whom God allows to stray, will have no guide. We bear witness that there is no deity worthy of worship except God, the One Who has no associate; and we bear witness that Muḥammad is His servant and apostle. He sent him forth with the guidance and the religion of truth, which He will make triumphant over all other religions, even if the unbelievers and the polytheists are averse. Peace and blessings of God be upon Muḥammad, the Seal of the Prophets, and upon his Household, the pure and noble, the guides and well-guided.

God Most High has made the Kaʿbah a place of worship for monotheists, a place for circumambulation, a refuge, a prayer niche, a direction to be faced, a place for genuflection and prostration, and a destination for the seekers of guidance. The Most High says, "*Indeed the first house to be set up for mankind is the one at Bakkah*." The Kaʿbah has been serving this function from time immemorial. Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said, "Nine hundred prophets have worshipped God in Makkah." He also said, "Every prophet whose people were annihilated would come to Makkah and worship God Most High until death overtook him." Imam ʿAlī ibn [i.e. son of] Mūsā al-Riḍā (ʿa) said, "It (i.e. the Kaʿbah) is the first place to be constructed on earth. It is [erected] at the centre to make the religious duty [of pilgrimage] an equal task for the people of the east and the west."

In support of the supposition that the Kaʿbah is at the centre of the earth, ʿAllāmah al-Shaʿrānī writes: Makkah lies in that part of the inhabited world which is nearly equidistant from most regions. There is a difference of seventy degrees [of longitude] between this city and the westernmost countries; likewise, the coast of the Sea of China is seventy meridians east of Makkah. Similarly, there is a difference of twenty-two degrees of latitude between Makkah and the equator and a like number of parallels between it and the northernmost part of the world.

It was the Prophet Abraham (ʿa) who built the noble Kaʿbah on the command of God Most High. The Qur'ān says, "*When We decided the site of the House for Abraham [saying], 'Do not ascribe any partners to Me, and purify My House for those who stand [in it for prayer] and those who bow and prostrate.*'" Thus, Abraham (ʿa) built the house with the assistance of Ismāʿīl (ʿa), his son, and, on its completion he stood at the station (*maqām*) and summoned people, saying, 'Come and visit the house of your Lord.' He was answered by all the monotheists of his time and those to be born from that time up to the Day of Judgment.

Abraham (ʿa) was therefore the reviver of the pilgrimage to the Kaʿbah, which was a custom that prevailed over the ages and part of the upright religion (*al-ḥanafiyah*), which had suffered alterations over time. Some of the rites of the Abrahamic ḥajj were changed and hitherto unknown practices introduced, and the resultant unoriginal form persisted up to the time God sent forth Muḥammad, the Seal of the Prophets, (ṣ). The last Prophet (ṣ) proclaimed the message God that was revealed to him; reestablished the truth and obliterated falsehood; admonished the people and upheld the glorification of the name of his Lord.

Among the tenets of religion he had taught the people were the rituals of the ḥajj, which he could only perform in complete adherence to all its rules during the closing year of his blessed presence on earth. Therefore, the Farewell Pilgrimage carried special significance in the Prophet's biography, and indeed, in Islamic history as a whole, because it was the only ḥajj he performed after Islam had spread and taken root. It was the only pilgrimage he performed after God had granted victory to the nascent Muslim community and people had embraced Islam in droves; when the foundation stone of the Islamic nation had been laid with the city of al-Madīnah as its nucleus; when the monotheistic Islamic society had been established. This journey was significant in various ways: politically, socially and educationally.

To start with the political, it is worth noting that the Farewell Pilgrimage took place after more than twenty years of hostilities between the Prophet (ṣ) and his followers on the one hand, and the unbelievers and polytheists on the other. The two sides had fought a number of battles, both major and minor, in some of which the Muslims were victorious while in others their adversaries had the upper hand, and in those contests a large number of Muslim warriors had been martyred. In addition, the Muslims suffered other tribulations like poverty, drought, insecurity and the bereavement of their loved ones. This journey took place after the surrender of the belligerent

people who fought the Muslim community for twenty long years, especially the oligarchs of the Quraysh tribe, whose unrelenting efforts were directed at destroying Islam and annihilating the Prophet (ṣ) and the believers. A short time before the journey, the Prophet (ṣ) had conquered the city of Makkah, which was the stronghold of the Quraysh, and its inhabitants had professed Islam, some out of conviction and others because of expedience. Arab tribes of other towns and the Bedouins had, by then, submitted to his authority; delegations from all places and tribes had been sent to al-Madīnah to declare their allegiance to God and His apostle (ṣ) and with these developments, victory and authority for the leader of Muslims had become total and unchallenged.

It was under these circumstances that the Prophet (ṣ) made his memorable journey in which tens of thousands of his followers took part. It was indeed a great show of political strength that reassured Muslims and awed his adversaries from among the unbelievers and the polytheists; it was a demonstration of the power of Islam to both friend and foe. And it was during this journey that God Most High completed His religion and approved Islam as the religion for the Muslims for all time. On the return journey, when the Prophet's caravan reached a place called Ghadīr Khumm near al-Juḥafah, he proclaimed the message of God which had been revealed to him concerning the investiture of the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) as his successor and the guardian (*walī*) of the nation. This announcement was done in the presence of that huge gathering of pilgrims.

On the social plane, no assembly of that magnitude had brought together the Prophet (ṣ) and his followers before that time, which was only a few months before his demise. Most of the companions of the Prophet (ṣ), both the foremost and those who joined him at later times, were present in this assembly.

As for the educational significance, in the speeches he delivered, the Prophet (ṣ) stressed the importance of adhering to the fundamental teachings espoused by all heavenly religions viz; belief in the oneness of God and total submission to Him, and the imperative of instituting a just system that will govern all aspects of the life of mankind. He urged the people to acquire literacy and imbibe knowledge and wisdom even if they were to be found in China or the Pleiades. He also instructed them to cultivate good morals in their private and public lives and reminded them of their rights that were due to God and their mutual rights, and emphasized the rights of women. In this journey the Prophet (ṣ) taught the people the rites of the ḥajj as opposed to the way it was performed during the pre-Islamic period, or the Era of

Ignorance, when the Abrahamic ḥajj had been altered.

The divine law (*sharī'ah*), which God Most High established in Islam and which the Prophet (ṣ) explained through his precepts (*Sunnah*), covers all the areas of worship, transactions and law. The section on worship includes purification, prayer, fasting, zakāt, khums and ḥajj, however, the last one differs from the other forms of worship in a number of ways. Below is a summary of a passage about the distinctions of ḥajj, which appears in *Jawāhir al-Kalām,* an encyclopedic work on Islamic jurisprudence written by the celebrated Shīʿah jurist, Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Najafī:

Ḥajj is among the greatest sacraments of Islam and the best means of gaining proximity to God the Omniscient, because it humbles the soul and subjects the body to discomfort. He who goes on ḥajj leaves his country, and renounces pleasures, customary indulgences, lineage contests and other disagreeable practices. Ḥajj involves spending money and travelling with all its attendant difficulties: [sometimes] braving insecure situations and suffering the company of the mean and the ignoble. Therefore, it is an exercise for the mind, an act of obedience that affects resources, as well as an act of worship that involves the body in speech and action, sometimes doing and sometimes abstaining. These qualities distinguish ḥajj from other forms of worship.

In the *ḥadīth* literature, we come across narrations like these:

'It (i.e. ḥajj) is more meritorious than fasting, striving in God's cause and defending the garrisons.'

'It is more meritorious than every other form of worship except prayer.'

'It is more meritorious than prayer and fasting in the sense that in prayer one is required to leave the company of one's family for a short time and, in the case of fasting, for the duration of daytime, while ḥajj requires one to travel and expose oneself to inconveniencies, spend money and miss one's family for a long time, neither for business nor for other material gains.'

Reason and transmitted teachings are in agreement on the fact that the more difficult a task the more meritorious it is, and that reward is proportional to exertion.

There are innumerable secrets and benefits associated with ḥajj. God Most High has prescribed ḥajj and made its performance a duty on His bondservants as a demonstration of His power and majesty and as a mark of the bondage and servitude, which He has imposed on His creation. Pilgrims shall bear the yoke of servitude and meekness as they stop at door after door, and wait behind veil after veil, but entry into His presence shall not be

permitted them until their immolations are accepted; and their immolations shall not be accepted until after a prolonged waiting behind the veils. God Most High has venerated the Sacred House and called it His own; He has chosen it and clad it in the garb of sacredness. He has made it a means of sustenance for the people and a destination to which the people of all countries repair. He has made the area surrounding it a sanctuary and caused the sanctuary to be a refuge.

Then He proclaimed the obligation of ḥajj to the people so that they may come for it on foot and on riding animals, from all highways. Then He commanded them to change their attires, remain dust-covered and disheveled in humility and meekness, raise their voices with the formula of *talbiyah* and answer His invitation. But even as they come to Him in this state He keeps them out and stops them behind His veils. They will then entreat Him in all humility, and after prolonged entreaty and submissiveness, when they will have stoned the devils in them and renounced their obedience to Satan, He will permit them to offer their sacrificial animals and remove their untidiness and purify themselves from the sins that had been the veil that stood between them and their Lord. Now they can visit the House in a state of purification as they exhibit total servitude to Him. Thus, sometimes He makes them go round the House, embracing its curtains and leaning against its columns (out of love and attachment), and some other times they troop before Him, now walking, now running, so that they may perceive the grandeur of His divinity and the powerlessness associated with their bondage and servitude.

Furthermore, the donning of *iḥrām* and the standing at the venerated stations (i.e. *Mount ʿArafāt* and *Muzdalifah*) brings to mind the picture of the gathering of the Day of Resurrection and the fear and anxiety of that day, for ḥajj is but a minor form of that gathering in the sense that the internal state of the pilgrims as they cry the *talbiyah* and assemble at the stations, in humility and distraction mingled with the expectation of deliverance, is similar to the condition of the people when they are brought out of their graves clad in their shrouds, when they are gathered in a single plain seeking divine succor and deliverance from their sins and waiting for the outcome of the Judgment, which will be either to the bliss of paradise or to the torment of hell. Certainly, all the actions of the pilgrims: their circumambulation and their *saʿy* (moving between the hills of Ṣafā and Marwah) as they go to and fro, resembles the condition of one in fear and agitation, one who is looking for a refuge from something terrible, similar to the condition of the people on the Day of Resurrection.

From another perspective, ḥajj is a test of the obedience of God's bondservants to Him and their submission to His dictates. The Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) says:

> "Do you not see how God, the Glorified, has tested the people, beginning with the earlier generations from Adam's time to the last generations, with stones that do neither harm nor good, and neither see nor hear, of which He caused His Sacred House to be built, and made it a means of sustentation for mankind? He placed it in the most rugged stony part of the earth, on a highland with the least vegetation, among the narrowest valleys; a terrain with rough mountains and some soft (uncultivable) sandy plains, with springs of scanty water and scattered habitations, where camels, horses, cows and sheep could not flourish.
>
> Then He commanded Adam (ʿa) and his offspring to turn their attention towards it, thus making it the resort and final destination of their journeys. It is made a place to which the souls hasten from distant deserts, gorge–like highways and scattered sea islands, until, on reaching it, their shoulders shake out of meekness before God as they chant the formula of Unity and jog [round the House] with disheveled hair and dusty faces. They throw aside their habitual clothes and spoil the beauty of their persons by leaving the hair uncut, this being a great test, a severe tribulation, a difficult trial, and an extreme test of character, which God has made a means of attaining His mercy and a way to His Paradise.
>
> Had God, the Glorified, situated His sacred House and His great sacraments among gardens and streams, even plains and easy terrain, with plenty of trees that are heavy with fruits, a developed area with close settlements; within fields of fine wheat, green farms, cultivable fertile lands well fed with rain, with green meadows and frequented highways; the reward would have been little on account of the easiness of the trial. Had the foundations of the House and its building stones been made of green emerald and rubies, and had brightness and effulgence covered the place, the attack of doubts would have been lighter upon the hearts, thereby, relieving them of the need to fight Satan's seduction, and nullifying the effect of uncertainty on the people.
>
> However, God tries His creatures by means of various types of troubles, commands them to worship Him through actions that require the endurance of hardships and puts them to test through various

> forms of distress, in order to remove arrogance from their hearts and imbue their souls with humbleness, that these trials may be the key to receiving His bounties and the means of attaining His forgiveness."

In another sermon, the Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) says:

> "God has made obligatory upon you the pilgrimage to His Sacred House, which He made a focal point for the people who go to it [with the eagerness with which] animals enter their watering places, and, in utmost distraction, approach it as a retreat and a sanctuary. God, the Glorified, has made it a sign of their humility before His greatness and their submission to His grandeur. He selected from among His creation the oft-hearing who responded to His invitation, believed His word, supported the mission of His prophets and imitated the angels who go round the Divine Throne. They earn the profits of the transaction of worshipping Him and hasten towards the forgiveness He has promised.
>
> God, the Glorified, has made it (i.e. His Sacred House) a symbol for Islam and a sanctuary for the seekers of refuge. He has made it an obligation to accord it respect and perform the pilgrimage to it, which he instituted as a duty to be discharged. God the Glorified said: "*And it is the duty of mankind toward God to make a pilgrimage to the House, for those who can afford the journey to it. And whoever reneges [on this obligation, it should be known that] God is indeed without need of the creatures.*" (Qur'ān, 3:96).

Because the Farewell Pilgrimage was the first ḥajj led by the Prophet, Islamic scholars of the Sunni denomination have written a number of books on this important topic. From the Shīʿah side, there are many narrations from the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) concerning this issue, that are found scattered in the rich works of the scholars of their school. In this book I have collected these narrations and added others from the Sunni works for the sake of comparison and a complete examination of all existing reports about the events that took place in that journey. I have also added some reports from history books to give a fuller narrative and throw more light on important aspects of this famous journey, and, in some places, I have discussed jurisprudential and historical points.

In view of the fact that the basis of this project rests on the narrations that have been reported from the Imams of the Immaculate Household (ʿa), I have decided to give it the title: *The Farewell Pilgrimage as narrated by the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa)* (*Ḥijjat al-Wadāʿ kamā rawāhā Ahl al-Bayt*). This work is the product of many years during which I also served as the director of the

Centre for the Jurisprudence of the Impeccable Imams, which was established by the eminent jurist of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) school, our master Grand Ayatollah Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fāḍil al-Lankarānī, may God shower the Muslims with the benefits of his knowledge and piety.

I hope that God will make this effort a reminder for Muslims along the path outlined by the noble Prophet (ṣ), and a means of uniting them and reviving their glory. I also pray that God will make it, for my humble self, a source of reward to be stored away for use on *the Day of Regret when the matter will be decided* (i.e. the Day of Judgment).

I have cited the works of Sunni and Shīʿah scholars, through their recognized transmitters, on the authority of my esteemed masters, among whom, was the Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Shihāb al-Dīn al-Marʿashī al-Najafī—may God sanctify his soul.

I wish to thank Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Karīmī al-Qummī, Shaykh Riḍā al-Mukhtārī and Shaykh Muḥammad al-Qā'inī for their help and suggestions. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Shaykh ʿIbādullāh Sarshar al-Tehrānī al-Miyānijī and Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad al-Raḍawī for reading and re-examining the manuscript. I must also mention Muḥsin al-Asadī and Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mawlawī for their role in proofreading the text.

To close this introduction, I am quoting Shaykh Amīn al-Ṭabarsī's poetic verses which he wrote in his *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*:

> *My God, For the sake of [Muḥammad] al-Muṣṭafā and his legatee [ʿAlī], and his two grandsons [Ḥasan and Ḥusayn] and al-Sajjād, the one with the calluses;*
>
> *And [Muḥammad] the Splitter of the knowledge of the prophets, Jaʿfar and Mūsā, the one who converses with God in private;*
>
> *And the pure one, our lord al-Riḍā, and Muḥammad and ʿAlī, the best of the best;*
>
> *And Ḥasan, the guide, and [al-Mahdī], the Undertaker of the Office, who will convey the blessings by the power of God's name.*
>
> *My God, grant me what I hope for by loving them, and, for their sake, replace my errors with good deeds.*

Ḥusayn ibn Murtaḍā al-Wāthiqī,
Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 1424 A.H.

PROCLAMATION OF THE PILGRIMAGE

Transmitters of *ḥadīth* and historians are of the opinion that the Apostle of God (ṣ) did not go on pilgrimage after the Migration except the Farewell Pilgrimage and not a single account to the contrary is to be found in the sources. However, the Prophet (ṣ) did perform a number of minor pilgrimages (*ʿumrah*) after the migration, and we will examine them later.

Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār reported that Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: "The Apostle of God (ṣ) lived in al-Madīnah for ten years without doing ḥajj. Then God sent down the verse, '*And proclaim the ḥajj to the people: they shall come to you on foot and on lean camels, coming from distant places*,' so he asked the muezzins (callers to prayer) to announce at the top of their voices that he would go for ḥajj that year. In this way the residents of al-Madīnah and its villages, and the Bedouins all became aware and they gathered to accompany the Apostle of God (ṣ) on ḥajj. They were but followers who were ready to obey whatever he would command them and imitate him in whatever he would do."

As for the person who was addressed in the words, '*and proclaim*' in the quoted verse, there are two possibilities:

First: That the one addressed was Abraham (ʿa) in view of the preceding verse, '*When We settled for Abraham the site of the House [saying], Do not ascribe any partners to Me and purify My House for those who go around it and for those who bow and prostrate*.' The author of *Majmaʿ al-Bayān* says, "It was Abraham, as related from ʿAlī (ʿa) on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās, and this view is the one Abū-Muslim preferred. Ibn ʿAbbās said, 'He stood up at the *Maqām* and said: O people! God has invited you for ḥajj,' and they answered with the formula: *Labbayk allāhumma labbayka* (At Your service, O Lord! At Your service…)."

Second: The person addressed is said to be the Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ). Although Abraham (ʿa) was the one addressed in the previous verse, redirecting a speech from one person to another in a single passage is not uncommon in the Glorious Qur'ān as well as in eloquent Arabic speech. Moreover, the subsequent verses show that the Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) was the one addressed, and secondly, both of them proclaimed ḥajj to the Ancient House. Abraham's call took place after completing the construction of the

Kaʿbah, when he stood on the *Maqām* and proclaimed, ‘O people! Come to the House of your Lord!’ All the monotheists, those who were living at that time and those who were yet unborn, answered his auspicious invitation with the formula of *Labbayk.*

From the beginning, Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) followed the upright (*ḥanīf*) religion of Abraham (ʿa), and thus, had performed ḥajj several times before the migration to al-Madīnah. However, after Muslims migrated to al-Madīnah, the Prophet’s followers were in a constant state of war with the Makkan polytheists, who had prevented Muslims from reaching the holy places for ḥajj and ʿumrah. This state of affairs prevailed up to the time the Prophet (ṣ) dreamt that he was entering the city of Makkah, as reported in the Qur'ān, ‘*Certainly God has fulfilled His Apostle’s vision in all truth: You will surely enter the Sacred Mosque...*’ This happened before the truce of Ḥudaybiyah. After the revelation of this verse the Apostle of God (ṣ) set out for ʿumrah with some of his followers. They donned *iḥrām*, marked the sacrificial camels, said the *talbiyah* and proceeded towards Makkah, but on reaching Ḥudaybiyah, which was a place thirty kilometers away from Makkah, the polytheists blocked their movement toward the holy city. Then a truce was concluded between the two sides, part of its terms being that the Muslims could go for ʿumrah the following year. Therefore, the Prophet (ṣ) and his followers sacrificed their camels and shaved in that place, and returned to al-Madīnah. The following year, which was the seventh after the migration, the Prophet (ṣ) set out again for ʿumrah accompanied by some of his disciples. They performed ʿumrah and stayed in Makkah for three days before returning to al-Madīnah. This journey was the fulfillment of the Prophet’s vision.

Seven years after Migration, the Apostle of God (ṣ) conquered Makkah and appointed ʿAttāb ibn Usayd as its governor, and during the ḥajj season of the ninth year, when the polytheists and the Muslims together attended the pilgrimage, he sent ʿAlī (ʿa) with Sūrah (i.e. Qur'ānic chapter) Barā'ah to read it to the pilgrims. Al-Masʿūdī writes, ‘The Apostle of God (ṣ) conquered Makkah in the month of Ramaḍān of the eighth year after the Hegira and he returned to al-Madīnah leaving ʿAttāb ibn Usayd ibn Abi’l-ʿAyṣ there, as governor. Then he led the people in ḥajj the same year, but some reports say that the people performed ḥajj in separate groups without a leader. In the ninth year, Abū-Bakr led the people for ḥajj. He left al-Madīnah in the company of three hundred people with twenty sacrificial camels that were supplied by the Prophet (ṣ). After he had left, the Prophet (ṣ) dispatched ʿAlī (ʿa) who overtook Abū-Bakr at al-ʿArj, bringing with him

Sūrah Barā'ah, which he read out to the people on the day of sacrifice. Abū-Bakr led ḥajj and addressed the pilgrims in Makkah a day before the day of Tarwiyah (which is the 8th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah), on the Day of ʿArafāt and on the Day of Sacrifice at Minā."

Thus in the ninth year Muslims performed ḥajj alongside the polytheists, and because the announcement for ḥajj was not a general one, an unspecified number of Muslims from al-Madīnah and Makkah made the pilgrimage, although the Qur'ān called it 'the greater ḥajj.'

Shaykh Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṣadūq writes: Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan has informed us from Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār from ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Qāsānī from al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī from Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Minqarī from Ḥafṣ ibn Ghiyāth al-Nakhaʿī al-Qāḍī, who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh [Imam al-Ṣādiq] (ʿa) about the saying of God the Exalted: *[This is] an announcement from God and His Apostle to all the people on the day of the greater ḥajj that God and His Apostle repudiate the polytheists…*

He answered, "The Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) has said, 'I was the [embodiment of the] announcement to the people.'"

Then I asked him the meaning of '*the greater ḥajj*' and he replied, "It was called '*the greater*' because in that year Muslims and polytheists together went on the pilgrimage and after that year polytheists did not attend ḥajj."

The Apostle of God (ṣ) did not perform ḥajj in the previous years until the tenth year after Hegira, when circumstances became favorable for conducting ḥajj. He announced it in the city of al-Madīnah and its suburbs, Makkah and its environs and in all the towns and villages whose inhabitants had embraced Islam. The people answered his invitation and flocked to Makkah from all directions so that they may learn the ḥajj rites from the Prophet (ṣ) himself and discharge this obligation.

Qur'ānic exegetes and scholars of *ḥadīth* agree that the proclamation for ḥajj was done in the tenth year but they differ concerning the time when it was made an obligatory Islamic duty; whether it was before Hegira or the sixth, seventh, ninth or tenth year after that. However, the date is of no consequence because ḥajj was not first prescribed in Islamic law; it actually started from the time of Adam (ʿa) and after him, it was revived by Abraham (ʿa), after whom it prevailed until God sent Muḥammad (ṣ), whose law endorsed it, removed the innovations that had been introduced into it during the pre-Islamic era (known as Era of Ignorance) and added some rites, and in that way augmented its sacredness and splendor.

When the Prophet (ṣ) proclaimed ḥajj in al-Madīnah, he also dispatched messages to ʿAlī ibn Abū-Ṭālib (ʿa), who was at the head of an army in Yemen, and to Abū-Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, who was also there with his group, that they should all meet the Apostle of God (ṣ) in Makkah, where he would be heading to for ḥajj. In appears that the proclamation was first made in the beginning of the month of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah. Ibn Isḥāq says, 'In the beginning of the month of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, the Apostle of God (ṣ) started preparations for ḥajj and commanded the people to prepare for it.'

Naturally, it would take considerable amount of time to pass the information to all the areas that had accepted Islam at that time and for the people to make the necessary preparations that were needed for this long journey. The Prophet (ṣ) himself had urged the people to join him for ḥajj and hasten their preparation for it, saying, 'Whoever wants to go for ḥajj should be quick because one may fall sick, or his riding animal may get lost, or a different need may arise [and hinder the journey].'

The Prophet (ṣ) said to Ḍabāʿah bint [i.e. daughter of] al-Zubayr ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the sick wife of al-Miqdād ibn al-Aswad, 'Do you intend to go for ḥajj?' She replied, 'By God, I am sick.' He said to her, 'Go ahead and do it but [make the intention] with a condition and say, O Lord, I will cut short my pilgrimage whenever my sickness stops me from going further.'

When Muslims came to know that the Prophet (ṣ) would go for ḥajj in that year, they prepared to travel with him. Since al-Madīnah was his capital, those who lived in or near it all gathered there to enjoy the honor of starting the journey in his company. Muslims of Makkah and the surrounding areas met the Apostle (ṣ) in Makkah. The Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa), and his army, whom the Prophet (ṣ) had sent to the city of Najrān in Yemen, and Abū-Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and his troops, left their posts and moved to Makkah to join the Prophet (ṣ). As for the Bedouins who lived between al-Madīnah and Makkah, they joined the Prophet's caravan as it travelled along the highway to Makkah.

Muslims were anticipating this journey of the Prophet (ṣ) for they wanted to learn ḥajj and know where it differed from that of the Days of Ignorance. They knew that whatever rite the Prophet (ṣ) observed was surely part of the Abrahamic ḥajj, and whichever he left out must have been part of the unoriginal ḥajj. Their palpable anticipation and readiness was observable in their throngs; thousands of people, some riding animals and others on foot, travelling nearly a thousand kilometers to and fro, was no mean spectacle.

In what season of the year did ḥajj take place?

Narrations about ḥajj are not clear on this point, but it can be inferred from what some scholars have said with regard to the practice of *nasī'*, which the Apostle of God (ṣ) proscribed during the farewell ḥajj, that this pilgrimage took place in the beginning of autumn. Concerning *nasī,'* Dr. Abū'l-Faḍl al-Nabʿī has said, "One of the important aims of the Arabs was to join commerce and pilgrimage during the time of ḥajj, and this entailed that ḥajj should fall within a mild season and not in very hot or very cold or rainy periods of the year. Because of this, the appropriate time for that was the beginning of autumn which coincided with the month of Mehr in the Iranian calendar (September-October)."

Thus the Arabs maintained this policy, concerning the timing of ḥajj, up to the tenth year after Hegira, when the Prophet (ṣ) prohibited *nasī'* and confirmed the timing of the months, based on how God arranged them *'on the day He created the heavens and the earth.'* We shall talk more about the practice of *nasī'* in due course.

The person the Apostle (ṣ) appointed as his deputy in al-Madīnah

Before the Prophet (ṣ) left for the pilgrimage, he appointed a deputy for al-Madīnah, who would take care of the city and the women, the children, the sick and those whom other reasons had prevented from accompanying the Prophet (ṣ). In the story of the Farewell Pilgrimage, Ibn Hishām writes, "He appointed Abū-Dujānah al-Sāʿidī to deputize for him in al-Madīnah. Other reports say it was Subaʿ ibn ʿArfaṭah al-Ghifārī." Ibn Kathīr gave a similar account in *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah*.

The Prophet (ṣ) had appointed Subaʿ ibn ʿArfaṭah al-Ghifārī in that capacity twice before; once when he went on the expedition of Dawmat al-Jandal, and the other when he went to the Battle of Khaybar. If Ibn ʿArfaṭah was the deputy in al-Madīnah during the Farewell Pilgrimage, then his appointment and reappointment by the Prophet (ṣ) attests to his capability. And if it was Abū-Dujānah, it is not strange because he was the one who remained together with ʿAlī ibn Abū-Ṭālib (ʿa) to defend the Prophet (ṣ) during the Battle of Uḥud, when most of Muslim warriors had retreated as the Muslim army suffered a setback. Both men were equal to the task of keeping watch over al-Madīnah in the Prophet's absence.

Was there an epidemic in al-Madīnah at the time people left for ḥajj?

Writers such as Ibn Fahd and Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī have mentioned this issue and we are quoting the latter's version here:

> "Then the Prophet (ṣ) ordered people to set out but there was an outbreak of smallpox or measles which prevented some from accompanying him to ḥajj. Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-ʿAdhrī informs us, from Abū'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Kisā'ī, from ʿAbbās ibn Muḥammad al-Rafīqī, from Abū-ʿUmar Hilāl ibn al-ʿAlā' al-Qanī al-Raqqī, from Yaʿqūb ibn Ibrāhīm, from Ibn Isḥāq Abū-ʿĪsā ibn Maʿqal ibn Abī-Maʿqal (of the tribe of Banū-Asad ibn Khuzaymah), from Yūsuf ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Salām, from Ummu-Maʿqal (grandmother of ʿĪsā ibn Maʿqal), who said, 'When the Apostle of God (ṣ) prepared to set out for the Farewell Pilgrimage and instructed people to go with him, there was an outbreak of a sore, either smallpox or measles. He visited us a number of times to see Maʿqal's father on account of his sickness. I was also attacked by this disease. [Then she related a lengthy narration and added:] The Apostle of God (ṣ) said, 'If you miss this ḥajj, go for ʿumrah in the month of Ramaḍān, for it is (i.e. equals) a ḥajj.'"

Did the smallpox or measles endemic prevent people from going for ḥajj? I haven't seen any evidence that points to that except this narration, nor have I seen any other report on this question in the works of *ḥadīth* and biography of the Prophet (ṣ), or the mention of anyone apart from Ummu-Maʿqal who had been prevented by the disease from going to ḥajj that year. If the disease was endemic there must have been other reports about it. Even the narration of Ummu-Maʿqal is reported in other sources in a way that does not suggest that the disease was endemic; it appears that it was the Maʿqals who were sick. For instance, Abū-Dāwūd relates in his *Sunan*: From Ummu-Maʿqal, who said, "When the Apostle of God was preparing for the Farewell Pilgrimage we fell sick and Abū-Maʿqal (Maʿqal's father) died as a result. We used to have a camel which Abū-Maʿqal gave out for God's cause. When the Apostle (ṣ) returned from ḥajj I went to see him and he said to me, 'O Ummu-Maʿqal, what prevented you from going out with us?'[I replied], 'We had made preparations but Abū-Maʿqal died…'"

Similarly, in the versions of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, *Musnad Aḥmad* and *Musnad Abī-Ya'lā* of Ummu-Maʿqal's narration there is no indication of the endemic nature of the disease. If the smallpox or measles

had been widespread, to the extent of preventing a sizeable number from performing ḥajj, *ḥadīth* works and biographies of the Prophet (ṣ) would have mentioned it in the story of the Farewell Pilgrimage.

The Prophet set out four nights before the end of Dhu'l-Qa'dah

In a narration of Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said, 'The Holy Prophet (ṣ) set out four nights before (*arbaʿan baqīna*) the end of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah.' In Arabic, numbers between three and nine are considered masculine, whereas the thing they count are feminine and vice versa; *arbaʿ* in the Imam's words is masculine while *baqīna* is feminine, the counted must be nights and not days, similar to the saying of God the Exalted, '*He disposed them for seven nights...*' Therefore, if we count the day the Prophet (ṣ) left al-Madīnah with the four days that followed the four nights, the total will be five days, so he must have set out on the first of the five days remaining before the end of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah. In the historical and biographical works of the non-Shīʿah, it is reported that ʿhe left al-Madīnah on Saturday, five nights before the end of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah.'

Ibn Ḥazm says, 'He set out six nights before the end of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah,' and supported his view with some weak augments. All those who said that he set out five or six nights before the end of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah have also added that he spent the night at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah.

There are no reports from the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) that mention that the Prophet (ṣ) spent the night in Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, nor does this appear in Jābir's long narration in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*.

Specifying the places for starting ḥajj

The Apostle of God (ṣ) assigned five places for commencing ḥajj which are called *mawāqīt* (plural of *mīqāt*), and whoever intends to perform ḥajj or ʿumrah must wear *iḥrām* in them, and never pass them, while going toward Makkah, without *iḥrām*.

Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Faḍl ibn Shādhān, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr and Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, both from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) has said, 'The ritual ḥajj will only be complete when you wear *iḥrām* at the places the Apostle of God has decreed. Do not pass them without being in a state of *iḥrām*. He has established Baṭn al-ʿAqīq for the people coming from Iraq, Yalamlam for the Yemenis, Qarn al-Manāzil for the people of al-Ṭā'if, al-Juḥafah (which is Mahyaʿah) for the people coming from the west, Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah for the people of al-Madīnah and for one

whose residence is nearer Makkah than those places, his residence is his *mīqāt*." There are many more reports on this topic.

Some narrations from the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) state that the Prophet (ṣ) decreed al-ʿAqīq for the people of Najd and those who came through Najd instead of Iraq. Based on this, one can say that there is no difference among the Imāmiyyah scholars on whether al-ʿAqīq is among the *mawāqīt* that the Prophet (ṣ) had fixed, for whoever passes through it [on the way to Makkah] from Iraq or Najd or any other place.

Shaykh al-Ṭūsī writes: There is no difference in opinion concerning the four *mawāqīt*: Qarn al-Manāzil, Yalamlam (or Alamlam), al-Juḥafah and Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah. As for Dhāt al-ʿIrq, it is the last section of mīqāt for the people of Iraq, its beginning being al-Maslakh, its middle Ghamarah and its last section Dhāt al-ʿIrq. We believe that this has been laid down by the Prophet (ṣ) and the Imams (ʿa), and this is on the consensus of the scholars of the sect.

However, non-Shīʿah jurists have differed on this question. Ṭāwūs, Abū'l-Shaʿthā', Jābir ibn Zayd and Ibn Sīrīn hold that Dhāt al-ʿIrq's position as *mīqāt* was established by analogy. Ṭāwūs says, 'The Apostle of God (ṣ) did not name Dhāt al-ʿIrq as *mīqāt*, and at that time there were no Muslims to the east of Makkah, so the people [later] made it *mīqāt*. Abū'l-Shaʿthā' says, 'The Apostle of God (ṣ) did not assign any *mīqāt* for the people of the east, so people considered Dhāt al-ʿIrq, which is adjacent to Qarn [al-Manāzil] as their *mīqāt*. Ibn Sīrīn said, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb made Dhāt al-ʿIrq mīqāt of the people of Iraq.' ʿAṭā says, 'Surely [*mīqāt*] of Dhāt al-ʿIrq was established by authoritative text (*naṣṣ*). This is what we heard that Dhāt al-ʿIrq (or al-ʿAqīq) had been established as *mīqāt* for the people of Iraq.' In *Kitāb al-Umm,* al-Shāfiʿī writes, 'I think the matter is as Ṭāwūs has said,' and the followers of his school say that it is found in the reports that the Prophet (ṣ) decreed it *mīqāt*.

Our reason for saying that [Dhāt al-ʿIrq was among the established *mawāqīt*] is the consensus of the scholars of the sect and the reports they narrated. In addition, al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad related from ʿĀ'ishah that the Prophet (ṣ) fixed Dhāt al-ʿIrq for people of Iraq. Abū'l-Zubayr also relates from Jābir that the Prophet (ṣ) decreed Dhāt al-ʿIrq for the people of the east. Al-Shāfiʿī said, 'It is more agreeable to me that the people of the east should make the *talbiyah* at al-ʿAqīq,' and this is also the view of the followers of his school."

This rejection of Dhāt al-ʿIrq by some non-Shīʿah jurists as one of the *mawāqīt* prompted some disciples of the Holy Imams to ask about al-ʿAqīq specifically. Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī writes: From one of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥakam, from Dāwūd ibn al-Nuʿmān, from Abū-Ayyūb al-Khazzāz, who said, 'I said to Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa): Please tell me about al-ʿAqīq. Is it *mīqāt* that has been fixed by the Apostle of God (ṣ) or a thing invented by people? He answered me: 'The Apostle of God (ṣ) decreed Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah for the people of Iraq, al-Juḥafah (which is called Mahyaʿah in our records) for the people of the west, Yalamlam for the Yemenis, Qarn al-Manāzil for the people of al-Ṭā'if and al-ʿAqīq for the people of Najd and those who travel through that area.'

Ibn al-Athīr writes in *al-Nihāyah*: "Another *ḥadīth* says, 'Al-ʿAqīq is the *mīqāt* of the people of Iraq.' Al-ʿAqīq is a place near Dhāt al-ʿIrq; two stations before it. There are many places that are called al-ʿAqīq in the lands of the Arabs; in fact, any hollow on the earth surface is called *ʿaqīq*. The *ʿaqīq* in question is one of *mawāqīt*. It lies between al-Madīnah and Makkah, after Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah toward Makkah. It is a wide valley. Its beginning is al-Maslakh, its middle is al-Ghamarah and its end is Dhāt al-ʿIrq."

Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah

Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah is a place two farsakhs (six miles) to the south of the old city of al-Madīnah, but later became part of the city after its expansion. During the time of the Prophet (ṣ), there were no settlements in Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, nor was it cultivated. Two hundred meters to the south of the mosque [of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah], there are wells that are still in use and their water is drinkable. These wells are probably the wells that were dug by Imam ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) for agricultural purposes. Because of the presence of these wells, the area is called 'Ābār ʿAlī (ʿAlī's Wells) as confirmed by large signboards standing by the side of the road.

Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Fayrūz'ābādī, a scholar of the Shāfiʿiyyah school of law and the author of *al-Maghānim al-Muṭābah fī Maʿālim Ṭābah*, says: Al-Ḥulayfah is a village six miles away from al-Madīnah. It is the same Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah that is *mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah.

Al-Samhūdī writes, "*Ḥulayfah* is the diminutive form of the noun *ḥalafah,* which is the name of a well known plant (the esparto). ʿAyyāḍ says that the valley of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah starts from al-ʿAqīq, which is part of the land of Muzaynah. What is meant by 'the Tree' is Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah itself, because of the presence of the Mosque of the Tree there. I have measured the distance

from the threshold of the Bāb al-Salām door of the Prophet's mosque [in al-Madīnah] to the door of the Mosque of the Tree at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah and found it to be 19,732.5 cubits and that is equivalent to 100 cubits less than five and a third miles, and the mosque is not at the beginning of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah. Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah is situated between Hadhah and Dhāt al-ʿIrq."

Al-Baydā'

Ibn Kathīr says, "Al-Baydā' means lifeless desert. It has been mentioned several times in *ḥadīth* literature. Here, al-Baydā' refers to a specific place situated between Makkah and al-Madīnah, and this is what is intended most of the times when it is mentioned, such as in the narration which says, 'Some people will set out to raid the House (i.e. the Kaʿbah). When they camp at al-Baydā', God will send Gabriel (ʿa) and he will call out: O Baydā', destroy them! Then the earth will cave in and swallow them up.'"

Al-Ṭurayḥī writes, "Al-Baydā' means lifeless desert. It also refers to a specific place between Makkah and al-Madīnah, a mile's distance from Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah towards Makkah. According to *ḥadīth*, prayer in al-Baydā' was disallowed because it was among the accursed places."

Shaykh al-Kulaynī, in *al-Kāfī*, reports from Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr who said:

I said to Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa): "We were at al-Baydā' late at night. I made ablutions and brushed my teeth intending to pray, and then I doubted whether it was permissible or not to pray there among camel litters."

He (ʿa) said: "Do not pray in al-Baydā'."

Then I asked, "What are the limits of al-Baydā'?"

He said, "Jaʿfar (ʿa) used to say: 'When a traveler reaches Dhāt al-Jaysh let him move faster, and he should not pray until he reaches the camping site of the Prophet (ṣ).'"

I asked further, "Where is Dhāt al-Jaysh situated?"

"Three miles before al-Hufayrah," he replied.

Another report from *al-Kāfī* reads: From al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad, from ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿĀmir, from ʿAlī ibn Mahziyār, from Faḍālah ibn Ayyūb, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, who said: Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) has said, "It is objectionable to pray in three places along the way [to Makkah]: al-Baydā' (which is Dhāt al-Jaysh), Dhāt al-Salāsil and Ḍajnān. The Prophet once instructed ʿAlī not to pray in Dhāt al-Jaysh, Dhāt al-Salāsil or Ḍajnān."

A similar report, quoted in *al-Muqni'ah* and *al-Maḥāsin*, reads: Prayer is disliked in three places on the way to Makkah: the first is al-Baydā', the second is Dhāt al-Salāsil and the third is Ḍajnān.

In *al-Muntahā*, ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī writes, "Literally, al-Baydā' means desert, but in this case it does not denote a general meaning, rather, it refers to a specific place. It is also said to be the land where caving-in (*khasf*) will take place. It is related that the Sufyānid army shall pass it (i.e. al-Baydā') on its way to the city of the Prophet (ṣ) and God the Exalted will cause the land to cave in and swallow up the army. Its distance from *mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah, that is Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, is one mile. As for Ḍajnān, it is a hill near Makkah, as the author of *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* has said. Al-Salāsil [which is part of the name Dhāt al-Salāsil, i.e. the land of Salāsil] is the plural of *salsal*, which is a place where sounds and echoes [that appear to be emitted by the earth] are heard."

The author of *Al-Madīnah bayn al-Māḍī wa'l-Ḥāḍir* writes, "Al-Baydā' is a spacious wasteland, nine kilometers square, lying at a distance of nine kilometers southwest of the noble city of al-Madīnah, that is six miles from its limits to the borders of Lower al-Ḥalīfah. It is surrounded by hills except the sides that border Lower and Upper al-Ḥalīfah. A number of hillocks spread out from the middle of this wasteland to its fringes especially the northern part of it. Its terrain is mostly rugged, mainly consisting of whitish rocks. It has no trees. Al-Baydā' is traversed by a highway that links the Mosque and Dhāt al-Jaysh.

Al-Baydā' has remained a wasteland from time immemorial but things have changed with the coming of the Saudi dynasty to power when peace prevailed and development reached the place. Presently, a number of buildings such as the Teachers' Institute, Television Headquarters and the Wireless Telephone Office are situated in the area. In a section of it, which is called Eastern al-Adithah, farms have been set up and pumps are used to irrigate them. Sayyid al-Samhūdī writes: Al-Baydā' starts from where Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, the place for donning *iḥrām* ends,' that is the western side of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah. In terms of recent developments in the area, Electricity Generation Station lies outside Muḥram and within al-Baydā', while a police office is on the boundary between al-Baydā' and Muḥram. I have estimated the distance from al-Ghamāmah Mosque to Dhāt al-Jaysh. Going through al-Baydā' along the highway, the car meter had counted eighteen kilometers, that is a full mail distance (*barīd*), when I reached the first hill on the left as one travels to al-Mufraḥāt, which is [another name for] Dhāt al-Jaysh.

Al-Samhūdī says, "Al-Baydā' starts where Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah ends. Two signposts separate them. Counting the signposts along the way, al-Asadī says, 'There are two at the outskirts of al-Madīnah, two at the beginning of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah and two at its end.' He also said, 'Al-Baydā' is further on from the signposts of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah as one ascends from the valley, and there is a well at the beginning of it.' Al-Baydā' thus lies between Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah and Dhāt al-Jaysh."

Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār relates that Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: The Holy Prophet (ṣ) set out until he reached al-Baydā' at the first milestone where the people stood in columns, then he made *talbiyah* and started ḥajj as *ifrād*.

The author of *man-lā-yaḥḍaruhu'l-faqīh* quotes: Faḍālah ibn Ayyūb has related from al-Kāhilī, who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) about *iḥrām* of women, and he said: They should make their preparations and when they reach the Tree they should commence ḥajj with *talbiyah* on reaching the milestone at the beginning of al-Baydā'; then they should be led to Makkah.

It is recorded in *Qurb al-Isnād*: From Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, from ʿĀṣim ibn Ḥumayd, who said: I heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying, "When the Apostle of God (ṣ) reached al-Baydā' at the milestone, a she-camel was brought to him and he rode it. When it rose, he said the four-part *talbiyah*."

What is the First Milestone?

It appears that the milestone is the signpost which marks the beginning of al-Baydā' and the end of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, as is suggested in al-Kāhilī's narration from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) where the latter said, "…at the milestone, the beginning of al-Baydā'." What al-Samhūdī said shows that during his time there were two milestones instead of the one which existed during the time of Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), that is, the second century after Hegira. Probably, the first milestone was erected to mark the end of *mīqāt,* where one must not pass toward Makkah without entering into a state of *iḥrām*, as al-Kulaynī has written: "It is not allowed to pass the milestone of al-Baydā' without chanting *talbiyah* openly. Al-Baydā' begins at the first milestone you meet on the left of the road."

Is mīqāt the valley of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah or the Mosque of the Tree?

According to a narration, Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār related that Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: The sun had passed the meridian when the Holy Prophet (ṣ) reached Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah. He took a bath and went to the mosque by the tree, performed the noon prayer and made the intention for *ifrād* form of

ḥajj. Then he went further until he reached al-Baydā' by the first milestone where the people formed two columns. He said *talbiyah* to start *ifrād* pilgrimage, and drove the sacrificial animals along.

In a lengthy narration, Jābir is reported to have said: We set out with the Holy Prophet (ṣ) until we reached Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah. Then he (ṣ) prayed in the mosque, then he mounted [his she-camel] al-Quṣwā'. When it rose up [and moved on until it reached] al-Baydā', I looked in front and saw that there were people everywhere, as far as the eye could see; some were riders and others were walking on foot. All directions were full of people: to the right of the Apostle (ṣ), to his left and behind him. The Apostle of God (ṣ) was among us, a Qur'ānic revelation was descending to him, and he knew its interpretation; therefore, whatever he did, we imitated him. He commenced ḥajj by proclaiming Divine Unity: "At Your service, O Lord, at Your service! At Your service! You have no associate! At Your service! Surely, all praise is to You and all favors are from You, and the dominion is Yours! You have no associate!"

It is true that the Prophet (ṣ) prayed at the place which became famous as Mosque of the Tree, although, in those days, there was no mosque there, it was simply a place where the Prophet (ṣ) had prayed. The people erected a mosque there later on. The two previous narrations of sound transmission show that the Prophet (ṣ) had prayed at that place and made the intention for ḥajj, intention being nothing concrete but a thing of the mind even if no word is uttered, even if no word occurs to the mind. However, *talbiyah* that the Prophet (ṣ) and his followers chanted, (and which was the formula for entering into the state of *iḥrām*) took place in al-Baydā', which is a wasteland that lies after Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, as mentioned before. Thus, it is possible that the Prophet (ṣ) made *talbiyah* at the edge of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah when he was almost in al-Baydā'.

It is worth mentioning that the Prophet (ṣ) prayed at many places in al-Madīnah and Makkah, along the road between the two cities, between al-Madīnah and Tabūk, and in other places on other occasions, but those places were not mosques during his lifetime nor were they treated as mosques in the formal sense with all the rules that pertain to mosques. It was afterwards that the people built mosques in those places to serve as memorials to the Prophet's prayer. The mosque of Qubā and the Prophet's mosque are exceptions, because he himself laid their foundations as mosques. Other mosques have been built in different quarters of al-Madīnah and the settlements of some neighboring tribes. From the first day, their constructions were launched in the name of mosques and on completion, the

inhabitants of these places used to organize opening ceremonies and invite the Prophet (ṣ) who honored their invitations and prayed in the mosques. The names of these mosques have been registered in the works on the Prophet's biography (ṣ) but they do not include the Mosque of the Tree. Al-Samhūdī says, "It was a place the Prophet used to camp and later on a mosque was built in the position where the tree once stood, and because of that it was named the Mosque of the Tree. It was an acacia, as mentioned in Ibn ʿUmar's narration in which he said that the Prophet (ṣ) used to camp beneath it in Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah."

In a number of narrations from the Holy Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa), some dependable (*muʿtabar*) and others sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*), it is stated that Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah is *mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah. One such report is that of Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār which says that al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said, "The Apostle of God (ṣ) made Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah *mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah."

These reports never said that he made the Mosque of the Tree *mīqāt*, moreover, there was no mosque at all in that place during the time of the Prophet. Therefore, *mīqāt* of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah is not limited to the mosque; the whole of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah is *mīqāt* for prospective ḥajj or ʿumrah pilgrims, similar to all other *mawāqīt*, which are not limited to the mosques that have been erected in their vicinities. Supporting this view, the author of *al-Madīnah bayn al-Māḍī wa'l-Ḥāḍir* writes, "I believe the place has been named Mosque of the Tree after the tree which once stood where the Prophet (ṣ) used to camp."

In a report that seems a bit contradictory to what we have said, al-Ḥalabī related that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said, "Iḥrām should be done at [one of] five places that the Apostle of God (ṣ) has decreed, and no pilgrim going for ḥajj or ʿumrah should make *iḥrām* before or after them. He has ordained, for the people of al-Madīnah, Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, which is the Mosque of the Tree at which one should pray and make the intention for ḥajj; for the people of Shām [Levant, the region that includes present Palestine, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria], al-Juḥafah; for the people of Najd, al-ʿAqīq, for the people of al-Ṭā'if, Qarn al-Manāzil and for the people of Yemen, Yalamlam. It is not proper for anyone to abandon *mawāqīt* of the Apostle of God (ṣ)."

In the words of jurists, we find what runs in the same vein: ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī writes, "*Mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah, where one has the choice, is Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah (that is the Mosque of the Tree) which is ten stations away from Makkah and one mile from al-Madīnah. Where one has no choice, *mīqāt* is al-Juḥafah."

Shaykh al-Ṭūsī says, "For the people of al-Madīnah and those who go for ḥajj through that way, the assigned *mīqāt* is Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, which is the Mosque of the Tree, where one has the choice, and in case of necessity, it is al-Juḥafah."

Shaykh al-Mufīd writes, "He assigned for the people of al-Madīnah the Mosque of the Tree and that is Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah."

Abū'l-Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥalabī says, "*Mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah is the Mosque of the Tree; that is, Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah."

The above report cannot be considered a specifier (*mukhaṣṣiṣ*) of the narrations of general nature (*ʿāmm*) that mentioned Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah without mentioning the Mosque of the Tree, because of the following reasons:

Firstly: The name *Mosque of the Tree* can be an explanatory conjunct to *Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah* to foreclose any confusion that may arise as to which *Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah* was intended as *mīqāt*, since there were more than one place called *Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah* (i.e. a place where the esparto plant thrives). The author of *al-Maghānim al-Muṭābah fi Maʿālim Ṭābah*, as well as the author of *Waṭā al-Wafā*, record that *Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah* is also the name of another place between Hadhah and Dhāt al-ʿIrq, as mentioned in the narration in which Rāfiʿ ibn Khadīj said, "We were in the company of the Apostle of God (ṣ) at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah in Tihāmah when we came across some plundered sheep."

Secondly: A look at the circumstances in which the Apostle of God (ṣ) proclaimed *mīqāt* shows that he was concerned with teaching the rites of ḥajj; the mood was certainly pedagogical. Thus, directly from him, thousands of his followers learnt how to perform ḥajj for the first time, and they preserved this knowledge for onward transmission to those who were absent. Those lessons formed the basis of ḥajj manual for all time, therefore it is difficult to see how a narration that would be related more than a hundred years later can serve as a *specifier* of the general import that derives from that action of the Prophet (ṣ). In fact, to insist that it can do so is to call to question the accuracy of the actions of Muslims in this regard throughout that period.

Thirdly: An action cannot be deemed to have *qualified* import (*muqayyad*), because qualifying the absolute (*muṭlaq*) with the *qualifier* is only possible in the case of an expression which is in the imperative or subjunctive forms (*inshāʾī*) and not the indicative (*ikhbārī*), which applies to situations where an action is reported to have taken place such as the actions of the Prophet (ṣ) at *mīqāt*.

Fourthly: The Prophet (ṣ) was not under conditions that would necessitate pious dissimulation (*taqiyyah*), so that his actions may be considered as having been done out of dissimulation. We cannot say that *mīqāt* was the mosque that was erected in his prayer place decades later and that the Prophet (ṣ) and his followers were only practicing dissimulation when they made their *iḥrām* in the wilderness of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah and al-Baydā'. This is unthinkable, because there was no longer any fear of the polytheists since at the time of the Farewell Pilgrimage, Islam had already spread and gained strength all over the Arabian Peninsula and the leaders of unbelief had since submitted to its authority.

Fifthly: While *Mosque of the Tree* is mentioned after *Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah* in the narration in question, in other reports *the Tree* has been mentioned after *Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah*, such as ʿAlī ibn Ri'āb's narration that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said, "The Apostle of God (ṣ) has decreed for the people of al-Madīnah Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah as *mīqāt* and it is *the Tree*."

Similarly, in the narration of ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar, from his brother Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar (ʿa), *mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah is said to be *the Tree*, and in ʿAbdullāh ibn Sinān's narration from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa), "The Apostle of God (ṣ) set out for ḥajj… and when he camped by *the Tree*, he ordered people to pluck the hair of their armpits (as part of the preparations and toilet that precede the entering into the state of *iḥrām*)." Likewise, a perusal of the works on *ḥadīth* and the Prophet's biography reveals that the word *shajarah* (the Tree) are widely used in relation to *mīqāt*.

Based on this, the expressions *the Tree* and *Mosque of the Tree* cannot be *specifiers* for the wider Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah; they can only be explanatory to it and a sign that signifies it. In fact, the Holy Imams (ʿa) mentioned *Mosque of the Tree*, which is without any doubt the noblest part of the area, but meant to say the whole of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah of which the mosque is only a part. In the same way, if one points to Zayd who is sitting and, using the demonstrative, says, 'this man sitting here' it is obvious that the sitting posture of Zayd has no bearing on his person to which the words 'this man sitting here' refer. Thus, *mīqāt* is not limited to the Mosque of the Tree but covers all of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah. Therefore, it is right to make *iḥrām* from any part of it.

From another angle, in al-Ḥalabī's narration, which is under discussion, there is no prohibition of making *iḥrām* outside the mosque, that would have prompted us to think that there is apparent inconsistency between narrations on this subject, whose reconciliation would have required the application of

the jurisprudential rule of specifying the 'general' with the 'specific' and the 'absolute' with the 'qualified.'

By way of digression, it may be asked whether the expression, 'he prayed in it and made the intention for ḥajj,' which appeared in al-Ḥalabī's narration, means that pilgrims must perform prayer, make their intention for ḥajj, and start *talbiyah*, all in the mosque? It is not so. Rather what is meant is that they should pray and make the intention for ḥajj in the mosque, but it did not mention *talbiyah*. A statement similar to this occurs in a long narration of Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's which mentions *talbiyah* and its place. It says, "And he prayed the noon prayer in it and made the intention for *ifrād* form of ḥajj. Then he moved on until he reached al-Baydā' at the first milestone where the people had formed two columns for him, and he made *talbiyah* for ḥajj of *ifrād*."

The expression, 'he prayed and made the intention for ḥajj in it,' that is mentioned in al-Ḥalabī's narration, could mean that prayer is recommended before *iḥrām* and that *iḥrām* comes after a prayer, whether an obligatory or recommended one, as well as indicates a special position held by the Mosque of the Tree, and this meaning is discernible in a number of reports. Thus, making *iḥrām* at the mosque is a meritorious deed in itself because of its being a mosque and the Prophet's prayer-place.

To return to our topic, from another perspective, it may be said that calling *mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah by the name 'Mosque of the Tree' was simply to list it among other *mawāqīt* and that this does not necessarily indicate that it was something else other than Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah. For instance, where Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī writes, "The Prophet made Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah *mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah, and that is the Mosque of the Tree, and he made al-Juḥafah *mīqāt* for the people of Syria," he did not meant to strip that portion of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah other than Mosque of the Tree, of the attribute of being *mīqāt*, thereby limiting *mīqāt* to the mosque. Rather he was specifying the *dhu'l-ḥulayfah* that is intended and where it is situated, so that it should not be confused with other valleys with the same name. In effect, he said, "that *dhu'l-ḥulayfah* in which the Mosque of the Tree is situated, not other valleys in which the esparto plant (*ḥalfah*) flourishes."

This issue is of special significance in the present day because of the great number of people who go on pilgrimage every year and the difficulties they sometimes face with regard to making *iḥrām* inside the Mosque. A similar problem is that of menstruating women who are not supposed to stay in a mosque during their periods. Even if the pilgrims are supposed to make

iḥrām inside the mosques of the *mawāqīt* as some jurists hold, the problem of menstruating women is solved, as they are allowed to enter from one door and go out from another and say *talbiyah* as they pass through it. Where a mosque has only one door the problem is solved by making a vow to God that she will enter into *iḥrām* before reaching the *mīqāt* station and most jurists hold that it is obligatory for such women to make the vow with the consent of their husbands, and in most cases the women are accompanied by their husbands in the journey. As for the sick and the old, they can make their *iḥrām* outside the mosque or even in the vehicles in which they travel.

In *al-Kāfī*, al-Kulaynī relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm from his father, from Ismāʿīl ibn Marrār, from Yūnus, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Sinān, who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) whether someone who joins ʿumrah with ḥajj is allowed to say *talbiyah* openly in the Mosque of the Tree?"

"Yes," he answered. "The Prophet (ṣ) started *talbiyah* at al-Baydā' because people did not know how to do it then and he wanted to teach them."

After relating another narration, al-Kulaynī comments: I think there is no strictness in this matter but it is more meritorious to say *talbiyah* openly where the Prophet (ṣ) did the same, and that is at the edge of al-Baydā', but no one is allowed to pass the milestone of al-Baydā' without saying *talbiyah.* Al-Baydā' begins at the first milestone you meet on the left side of the road.

This narration shows that ʿAbdullāh ibn Sinān asked Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) whether it was right to say *talbiyah* at the Mosque of the Tree, since the Prophet (ṣ) had started *talbiyah* in al-Baydā' and not if it was obligatory to say it in the mosque. This indicates that the practice of doing *talbiyah* in al-Baydā' was prevalent and correct as it was the place at which the Prophet (ṣ) started chanting it. Thus the duty of *iḥrām* has been made easy for the Islamic community, whether the number of pilgrims is small or large, especially for women with hindrances and the sick, and the benefit of this facility is more marked nowadays with the increasingly large number of people who go to ḥajj each year.

In some narrations, there is prohibition of doing *iḥrām* and *talbiyah* at the Mosque of the Tree. Muʿāwiyah ibn Wahab relates: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) about making preparations for *iḥrām*. He said, "[Yes do so] in the Mosque of the Tree, for the Apostle of God (ṣ) has prayed therein. You will see some people doing *iḥrām* there, but do not do so until you reach al-Baydā' at the milestone, then enter into *iḥrām* [and wear its clothes] as you would if you were [at the camp] among your camel litters. Say: *labbayk allāhumma labbayk*."

However, in Islamic jurisprudence this type of prohibitory statements are not considered as conveying the formal prohibition (*taḥrīm*) but rather a discouragement of the less meritorious act, so that a Prophetic tradition, whether the obligatory aspect of it or the recommended, may be preserved.

One Shīʿah jurist prefers to make a synthesis by reconciling these two groups of narrations. This is what he writes: "If you set out along the road of al-Madīnah and enter into the state of *iḥrām* from the Mosque of the Tree, say the four-fold mandatory *talbiyah* in whispers until you reach al-Baydā' at the milestone on the left of the road. When you reach it, say *talbiyah* aloud and never pass the milestone without saying *talbiyah*."

Others say that it is permissible to do *iḥrām* outside the mosque, either to the right or to the left of it but whenever possible, it is better to do it inside the mosque as a precautionary measure. It is also more meritorious for those who go for ḥajj from the direction of al-Madīnah to delay *talbiyah* until they reach al-Baydā', and for those who come from other directions to delay it until they pass *mīqāt* a little. However, in all cases, it is more precautionary to start *talbiyah* early [in whispers] and delay saying it aloud until one reaches the specified places.

The views of some contemporary jurists vary widely: some say it is obligatory to make *iḥrām* only in the old part of the mosque, others include the newer part along with the old part, a third group say the whole mosque and to the right and the left of it, a fourth add all the places that lie adjacent to the mosque, and a fifth consider the whole of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah a place for doing *iḥrām*.

The earlier jurists did not treat this issue because the number of pilgrims was small in those days so entering into the state of *iḥrām* right inside the mosque was not a problem for them that would warrant inquiring from the Infallible Imams or, after them, from the earlier jurists. Therefore, those scholars did not see the need to treat the matter in detail; as such, we find their statements on this issue short and concise:

- "*Mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah is the Mosque of the Tree."
- "*Mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah is the Mosque of the Tree and that is Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah."
- "*Mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah is Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, the Tree."
- "*Mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah is Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah."

They did not mention anything specifically about outside the mosque, its surrounding area of the Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah region as a whole.

Commenting on ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī's words: "The Mosque of the Tree is *mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah when one has the choice; otherwise it is al-Juḥafah," al-Muḥaqqiq al-Karakī wrote in *Jāmiʿ al-Maqāṣid*: The apparent meaning of his words is that the mosque itself is *mīqāt*, although reports say that it is Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah. This place is situated six miles away from al-Madīnah. It is a watering place of the Banū-Jashm tribe and *mīqāt* of al-Madīnah and Syria, as written in *al-Qāmūs*. Therefore, *mīqāt* is this place and not the mosque itself. Our mentor, the Martyr, writes in his glosses [on ʿAllāmah's work]: "The more well-known among the narrations show that *iḥrām* is to be made from the valley which is called Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah. In any case, it is more precautionary to limit *iḥrām* to the mosque, but the permissibility of entering into *iḥrām* in any part of the area is hardly refutable."

The author of *al-Wasīlah* writes: "People of al-Madīnah have two *mawāqīt*: Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah and al-Juḥafah."

Al-Shahīd al-Awwal (First Martyr) Muḥammad ibn Makkī writes in *al-Durūs*: "People of al-Madīnah have al-Madīnah and Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah [as *mawāqīt*] and the best part of it is the Mosque of the Tree, and it is more precautionary to do *iḥrām* therein."

In *al-Lumʿah al-Dimashqiyyah*, al-Shahīd al-Awwal writes, "*Mawāqīt* are six: Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah for al-Madīnah…" and he did not add anything more about *mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah.

We read in *al-ʿUrwah al-Wuthqā*: One of the *mawāqīt* is Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah which is *mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah and those who pass through it. There are two views on whether it is some place in which the Mosque of the Tree is situated or the mosque itself. A number of reports say that it is the Tree and others say that it is the Mosque of the Tree. In any case, it is more in line with precaution to limit [entering into *iḥrām*] to the mosque because if *mīqāt* is the mosque itself then the correctness of *iḥrām* is obvious, and if it is some place in which the mosque lies then the *absolute* (i.e. *a place that contains the mosque*) should be specified by applying the *qualified* (i.e. *the mosque*). [To do *iḥrām* right inside the mosque is surely to do it 'in a place containing the mosque']. However, stronger arguments indicate that it is permissible to do *iḥrām* outside the mosque even without being pressed by necessity, even if Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah is considered solely to be the mosque. The reason for holding this view is this: by doing *iḥrām* at the sides of the

mosque one is considered to have done it *from* the mosque, from the point of view of customary usage, because there is a difference between a command to do *iḥrām from* the mosque and a command to do it *in* the mosque. It is also possible to make the claim that the mosque is the limit at which *iḥrām* is done, in which case it will include the two sides of the mosque.

Among the great contemporary jurists who wrote glosses on *al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā* some did not comment on this passage, and this appears to be an implicit support for the author's view on the matter. These jurists are Ayatollahs Sayyid Muḥammad al-Fayrūz'ābādī, Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nā'īnī, Sayyid Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī, Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', Sayyid Ḥusayn Burujerdi, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Shīrāzī, Sayyid Aḥmad al-Khānsārī, Sayyid Abū'l-Qāsim al-Khū'ī and Sayyid Riḍā Golpaygānī.

Ayatollah Golpaygānī said:

> "Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah which is *mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah extends beyond the mosque that stands by the tree. Clarifying Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah by mentioning the mosque or calling it 'the mosque' as occurs in the narrations, is no more than designating a whole by the name of the part, while actually meaning the whole and, in this case, it is a form of veneration for the mosque. This is similar to the saying of God the Exalted, *'Immaculate is He who carried His servant on a journey by night from the Sacred Mosque to…'* in which what is intended by saying 'the Sacred Mosque' is the city of Makkah itself. Another example is God's saying, *'That is for someone whose family does not dwell by the Sacred Mosque,'* which is explained in the reports as meaning someone who does not dwell in Makkah.
>
> It is also possible that during the time of the Imams (ʿa) the people knew the area of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah by the name of 'the Mosque' as a result of recurrent usage of the term or the importance of the mosque, and as such the Imams describe Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah by saying, 'It is the mosque.'
>
> From another angle, it is not improbable that the Apostle of God (ṣ) assigned *mawāqīt* for *iḥrām* in consideration of their distances from Makkah so that the pilgrims should not pass them without entering into the state of *iḥrām* and, from those places, observe the right etiquette with respect to the Sacred House of God. Thus it is the distance that was considered and not the fact that the mosque was situated in a part of *mīqāt* area. Because of this, the author of *al-Durūs*

reckoned it better to do *iḥrām* from the mosque than from other places in Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah. The author of *Jāmi' al-Maqāṣid* writes, 'The permissibility of doing *iḥrām* in any part of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah is hardly refutable.' Therefore, based on the available evidences, stronger reason (*al-aqwā*) indicates that it is allowed to do *iḥrām* outside the mosque even where one has the choice to do it inside."

In his glosses on *al-'Urwah*, the eminent Shīʿah jurist Ayatollah Khū'ī writes:

"Nothing in the narrations says that *iḥrām* should be done from the mosque of the Tree or that the mosque is *mīqāt*; what they say is that the Apostle of God (ṣ) has assigned Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah as *mīqāt* of the people of al-Madīnah and that it is the Tree. Similarly, it said in the narrations that Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah is the Mosque of the Tree, so this is not the place for applying the rule of specifying the 'absolute' by means of the 'qualified.' Furthermore, it is not improbable that 'Mosque of the Tree' is the name of an area in which the mosque stands, similar to Masjid Sulaymān [lit. Sulaymān's mosque is the name of a town]."

Another scholar, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Sabzawārī writes:

"There are four different versions of the reports: 'Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah' (such as in Ibn ʿUmayr's report), 'Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah which is the Mosque of the Tree' (in al-Ḥalabī's, and other reports), 'Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, which is the Tree' (such as in ʿAlī ibn Ri'āb's report), and 'From the Tree' (such as in Ibn Jaʿfar's and other reports). This has caused the difference of opinion among jurists. This issue is treated in three ways: applying the practical principle (*al-aṣl al-'amalī*), drawing on what is understood from the narrations, and by taking cognizance of the rooted popular conception (*al-murtakazāt*) as to what those names refer to.

The first method: the practical principle (from which the jurist derives what action is to be taken in the absence of juridical evidences) that applies in this case is 'obligation' (*al-ishtighāl*), based on which, one is supposed to do that action which one is sure can discharge the obligation. This entails limiting *mīqāt* to the mosque because all the jurists are agreed that doing *iḥrām* there is correct and certainly discharges the obligation.

The second method: From what appears from the narrations, the places that are mentioned were known by these names even before the

advent of Islam. They were the names of specific valleys and probably some villages with fixed boundaries that were familiar to the inhabitants of those areas, similar to other places, and, obviously, the mosques must have been constructed after Islam had been established. Going by this theory, the unqualified nature of the texts indicate that it is correct to do *iḥrām* from anywhere within the area whose inhabitants customarily call it by that name. In other words, it is satisfactory to do *iḥrām* in that place whose inhabitants call it Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah because the reports mentioned 'Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah' without any qualification. Doubtless, it is more meritorious to do *iḥrām* at the mosque, but it is not the only acceptable option. It is along this line that al-Karakī writes, 'The permissibility of doing *iḥrām* in the place known as Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, outside the mosque inclusive, is hardly refutable' and it appears his opinion was based on the absolute nature (*iṭlāq*) of the import of the narrations.

The third method: By taking cognizance of rooted popular conception, *mīqāt* is the valley which is known by this name (Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah) similar to places like ʿArafāt, Minā and al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām. However, there is a difference between these three and Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, where one doubts whether a particular point is part of these places or not. For the first three places such a point is not considered part of them, while for Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah it is taken to be part of it. This is because in the latter, the disputed place is either truly part of *mīqāt* or at least lying adjacent to it, in which case it is permissible to enter into *iḥrām* there even if one has the choice, as we will see later.

If the relation of the mosque to Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah was like that of a part to a whole it would have been correct to mention the part and mean the whole and this is common Arabic usage. After saying, 'To do *iḥrām* from the sides of the mosque is like doing it from the mosque itself' he added 'because what is intended by the word *from* is simply *beginning*; similar to its usage in the statement: "I walked from al-Madīnah to Makkah", although one may not have entered al-Madīnah at all. In fact *fromness* is achieved in whatever way *beginning* is done in light of the customary usage of the word, whether it is done at a place that is very near to the starting point or not.'"

The clothes used by the Apostle in *iḥrām*

On his way from al-Madīnah to *mīqāt*, the Apostle of God (ṣ) wore his normal clothes and when he entered *mīqāt* he donned *iḥrām* attire. In *al-*

Faqīh, it is reported that Abū-Baṣīr has said: I said to Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa): In al-Kūfah, we used to relate that ʿAlī (ʿa) said, "It is an integral part of your pilgrimage to do *iḥrām* from the dwellings of your family." He retorted, "May God be glorified! If what they say is true the Apostle of God (ṣ) would not have worn his habitual clothes [from al-Madīnah] to the Tree."

Similar narrations are related in *al-Kāfī* and *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām.*

The Prophet's *iḥrām* clothes were two pieces of Yemeni calico. In *al-Kāfī,* al-Kulaynī writes: From a number of our Shīʿah scholars, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, from a Shīʿah scholar, from one of the Imams (ʿa): The Apostle of God (ṣ) wore two pieces of cotton fabric for *iḥrām*. On the authority of ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, who related that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: The two clothes which the Apostle of God (ṣ) donned as *iḥrām* were of Yemeni manufacture, one from Abr and the other from Zafar, and he was shrouded in them when he died.

A similar narration is found in *al-Faqīh*.

The Prophet's ride to Makkah after donning *iḥrām*

It is reported that Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ʿa) has said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) removed his sunshade when wearing the *iḥrām* attire, but he walked under the shade.

Another narration from Imam Kāẓim (ʿa) says: When the Apostle of God performed the pilgrimage, after donning *iḥrām* and did not use the sunshade but he entered the buildings and tents and also availed himself of the shade of litters and walls, so we did the same.

Perhaps, he walked only for some time, for the Prophet (ṣ) was mounted both on his outward and return journeys.

Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ʿa) says: The Apostle of God (ṣ) would ride his riding animal and he would not use the sunshade as he rode. When the sun irritated him he sometimes shaded his face with his hand. After he dismounted, he used the shade of tents, houses and walls.

The author of *al-Maḥāsin* reports: Al-Nawfalī relates from al-Sakūnī, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), from Imam al-Bāqir (ʿa) who said: The Prophet (ṣ) carried his provisions on his riding camel and said: This pilgrimage is free of pretence, either by word or deed.

Then he added: Whoever intentionally includes something unlawful in his luggage when he prepares [for the pilgrimage he should know that] God will

not accept his pilgrimage.

In *Al-Maghāzī*, it is related from Ibn ʿAbbās that the Apostle of God (ṣ) entered Makkah in the daytime on al-Quṣwā', his riding camel, coming by way of Kuda and through al-Abṭuḥ. Jābir's lengthy narration says: The Apostle of God (ṣ) prayed in the mosque, then he mounted [his she-camel] al-Quṣwā'. When it rose up [and moved on until it reached] al-Baydā', I looked in front and saw that, as far as the eye could see, there were people everywhere, some were mounted and others were travelling on foot. All directions were full of people: to his right, to his left and behind him… until we reached the House together with him.

The Prophet's riding animal in this ḥajj was a she-camel called al-Quṣwā', which was also known by two other names al-Jadʿā' and al-ʿAdbā'. The Prophet (ṣ) bought it for four dirhams.

There are many other narrations which indicate that on this journey the Apostle of God (ṣ) was mounted, likewise some of his companions were also mounted, while others travelled on foot.

In *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Anas ibn Mālik is reported to have said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) performed his ḥajj riding on a camel saddle and employed its saddlebag as his luggage conveyor.

In *Sunan Ibn Mājah* also he is reported to have said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) performed his ḥajj riding on an old camel saddle whose saddlecloth was worth only four dirhams (silver coins) or even less. He said: O Lord! [Make it] a pilgrimage that is free of pretence, either by word or deed.

The Prophet takes a bath before entering into *iḥrām*

A number of narrations mention that the Apostle of God (ṣ) took a bath at *mīqāt* before donning *iḥrām*. In the long narration he related from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār quotes the Imam as saying: When he reached Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, it was past noon. He took a bath.

The author of *al-Kāfī* relates: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Ḥammād ibn ʿUthmān, from al-Ḥalabī, who said that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: Certainly, the Apostle of God (ṣ) donned *iḥrām* at the time of the noon prayer because water was very scarce, as though it were only to be found on the top of mountains. A man would go in search of water for a whole day and only return the same time next day but would hardly come by it. These water sources [that are now available] were constructed only recently.

It is obvious that the water intended here is for bathing, since if it were for ablution; ritual cleaning or drinking a little would have sufficed. Thus the Prophet (ṣ) took a bath for the purpose of *iḥrām* but this action of his could be either obligatory (*wājib*) or recommended (*mandūb*), with the majority of jurists holding that it was the latter, while others say it was the former.

The Prophet's *iḥrām* with *talbiyah*, taqlīd and ish'ār

For the *qirān* form of ḥajj, *iḥrām* (the state of pilgrim-sanctity to be observed by the pilgrims) is entered into by doing one of three things: *Talbiyah* which is the chanting of the *labbayka* formula; *al-Ish'ār* which is to make a slit on the hump of the sacrificial camel and let some blood trickle, this being the sign that it is an immolation that is dedicated to the Sacred Kaʿbah; and *al-Taqlīd* which is hanging an old sandal on the head of the camel, cow or sheep (or goat) as a token that they are offerings. However, in the *tamattu'* and *ifrād* forms of ḥajj and ʿumrah (lesser pilgrimage), only *talbiyah* is required for entering into the state of *iḥrām*.

Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār relates from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa): When the Holy Prophet (ṣ) reached Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, it was already past noon. He took a bath and set out again until he reached the mosque, which was by the Tree and prayed the noon prayer there and made the intention for *ifrād ḥajj*. Then he moved on until he came to al-Baydā' at the first milestone where the people formed two columns. He made *talbiyah* for the *ifrād* form of ḥajj and drove his offering along.

This report does not say anything about *ish'ār* and *taqlīd* which were already known before the coming of Islam. Ḥafṣah's narration from the Prophet (ṣ) mentioned his hanging the token object (*taqlīd*) as well. Al-Wāqidī writes in *Al-Maghāzī*: He entered the mosque of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, prayed the noon prayer two units, went out and called for the offering. When it was brought he slit its hump on the right side and hung a pair of sandals on it. Then he mounted his she-camel and on reaching al-Baydā' he donned *iḥrām*. He did *talbiyah* after the noon prayer.

The Prophet matted his hair

Muslim relates in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* that Ḥafṣah said: I said to the Prophet (ṣ), "Why did people conclude their ʿumrah but you did not conclude yours? (i.e. Why did you not re-enter the state of permissibility which one leaves on entering into *iḥrām*?)

"I have hung the sign on my offering and matted my hair," he replied. "So I cannot leave the state of ʿumrah until the time I leave *iḥrām* of ḥajj (i.e.

complete the ḥajj)."

The author of *Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn* says that matting of the hair (*talbīd*) was done by applying oil, marshmallow or the like, at the time of wearing the clothes of *iḥrām* to keep the hair in position and prevent it from becoming disheveled or infested with lice. The author of *al-Nihāyah* reports a similar narration.

The Prophet's *talbiyah*

Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṣadūq relates through a sound chain of transmission, from al-Naḍr ibn Suwayd, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Sinān, that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God said *talbiyah* in this way: *labbayka allāhumma labbayka; labbayk lā sharīka laka labbayka, innal ḥamda wanniʿmata laka walmulka, lā sharīka laka, labbayka dhal miʿrāj labbayka* (At Your service, O Lord! At Your service! At Your service! You have no associate! At Your service! Surely, all praise is to You and all favors are from You and the dominion is Yours! You have no associate! At Your service, Lord of the lofty stations). He used to repeat 'Lord of the lofty stations' very often, and he used to say *talbiyah* whenever he met a rider on the way, while ascending hillocks or descending into valleys, at the end of the night, and after the daily prayers.

Al-Naḍr ibn Suwayd's report has also been related by al-Kulaynī as part of a lengthy narration. A report in *al-Faqīh* reads: The Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) said: Gabriel came to the Prophet (ṣ) and said to him: *Talbiyah* is the motto of the one who has entered into *iḥrām*, so raise your voice with *talbiyah* and say: *labbayk allāhumma labbayka*... etc.

In *Qurb al-Isnād* it is related from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, from ʿĀṣim ibn Ḥumayd who said: I heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) reached al-Baydā' by the milestone, his she-camel was brought to him and he mounted. When it rose he said the four-fold *talbiyah*: *labbayk allāhumma labbayk*... Then he said: This is the place where the earth shall swallow up the wicked ones.

Then Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) remarked: Later on, people added to that [formula] and it is good.

It appears that what the Imam means by this is that people made additions to these four statements of *talbiyah* and expressed that the addition was good because it was a form of glorifying God. In other narrations, the Imams (ʿa) teach *talbiyah* with the addition of some words of glorifying God the Exalted.

In *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī is reported to have said: I read before Mālik that Nāfiʿ reported ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿUmar as saying: The Apostle of God's *talbiyah* is *labbayka allāhumma labbayka. Labbayk lā sharīka laka labbayka, innal ḥamda wan niʿmata laka wal mulk, lā sharīka lak.*

A similar report is found in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Musnad Aḥmad* and *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*.

This shows that Sunni and Shīʿah narrations are in agreement with regard to the Prophet's *talbiyah.*

In al-Bukhārī's *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, and in *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Musnad Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, and *Sunan al-Dārimī*, the Apostle of God (ṣ) is reported to have said: Gabriel came to me and said: God the Mighty and Sublime commands you to ask your companions to raise their voices with *talbiyah* because it is the motto of pilgrimage.

Khuzaymah ibn Thābit says: When the Prophet (ṣ) finished *talbiyah,* he used to pray for God's pleasure and forgiveness, and seek refuge with God from Hellfire.

The Prophet entered into the state of *iḥrām* at noon

At what hour did the Prophet enter into *iḥrām*? It appears that it was after the noon prayer. Al-Kulaynī relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, the three from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Ḥammād, from al-Ḥalabī, who said: After Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) had delivered a long speech, I asked him whether the Prophet (ṣ) entered into *iḥrām* during the daytime or at night. He replied, "It was in daytime."

I asked him what hour it was, and he said, "It was the noon prayer."

In another report, al-Kulaynī writes: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Ḥammād ibn ʿUthmān, from al-Ḥalabī who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) if the Apostle of God (ṣ) donned *iḥrām* during the daytime or at night, and he replied, "In the daytime." Then I enquired which hour it was, and he said, "It was the time of the noon prayer." Then I asked, "When do you think we should enter into the state of *iḥrām*?" He replied, "It is all the same for you. The Apostle of God (ṣ) did so at the time of the noon prayer because in those days water was very scarce, as though it could only be had from mountaintops. A man would go in search of water for a whole day and return the same time next day but would hardly come by it. These water sources [that are now available] were

constructed only recently."

In Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's long narration, Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: When the Holy Prophet (ṣ) reached Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, the sun had passed the meridian; so, he took a bath. Then he entered the mosque which was by the tree, prayed the noon prayer and made the intention for the *ifrād* form of ḥajj. Then he set out again until he reached Al-Baydā' at the first milestone where the people formed two columns, and he chanted *talbiyah* for commencing the ḥajj as *ifrād*. He drove along sixty-six or sixty-four sacrificial animals. He reached Makkah on the fourth day of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah.

From this report, we can see that the Prophet (ṣ) entered into the state of *iḥrām* after the noon prayer. However, as al-Fayrūz'ābādī remarks, nothing in the reports say that, apart from the noon prayer, he had performed a prayer specifically for *iḥrām*. After donning *iḥrām* he hung two sandals on the sacrificial camel as a token of offering and slit the right side of its hump until blood trickled down.

Did the Prophet spend the night in Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah?

Starting with Shīʿah narrations, in Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's long *ṣaḥīḥ* (sound narration), Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God (ṣ)… advanced until he arrived al-Baydā' at the first milestone where the people formed two columns. He chanted *talbiyah* for the *ifrād ḥajj* and drove the offerings that consisted of sixty-six or sixty-four camels to Makkah…

According to al-Ḥalabī's *ṣaḥīḥ* report, Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is quoted as saying: The Apostle of God (ṣ) set out from al-Madīnah four days before the end of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah to perform the obligatory ḥajj prescribed in Islam (*ḥijjat al-Islām*). On reaching the tree, he prayed there and led his riding camel until he reached al-Baydā' where he donned the *iḥrām* attire, said *talbiyah* for the commencement of ḥajj and drove a hundred sacrificial camels. All the people donned *iḥrām* for ḥajj; neither intending to do the ʿumrah nor knowing what *tamattuʿ ḥajj* was, until the Apostle arrived at Makkah…

These two narrations show that the Prophet donned *iḥrām* at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah on the same day he left al-Madīnah for Makkah and he did not spend the night at *mīqāt*. Similarly, Ibn Sinān did not mention anything about the Prophet's spending the night at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah. In the same vein, al-Ṭabarsī writes: When he reached Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, Asmā' bint ʿUmays gave birth to Muḥammad ibn Abū-Bakr, so he stopped over for the night for her sake.

However, it appears that he took this report from the works of non-Shīʿah writers.

From the narrations of non-Shīʿah scholars, al-Bukhārī says: ʿAbdullāh ibn Muḥammad informs us, from Hishām ibn Yūsuf, from Ibn Jurayḥ, from Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir, from Anas ibn Mālik who said: The Prophet (ṣ) prayed four units of the daily prayer in al-Madīnah and two in Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah [in reference to the shortening of the four-unit prayers to two during journeys], then he spent the whole night in Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah. When he mounted the following day he made *talbiyah* for commencing the pilgrimage.

This report indicates that the Prophet (ṣ) spent the evening of the day he set out at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah and the night as well, and he donned *iḥrām* the following day and proceeded to Makkah. Al-Samhūdī writes: It can be inferred from sound narrations that the Prophet (ṣ) set out for ḥajj in the daytime, passed the night at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah and donned *iḥrām* on the second day.

However, what is evident from Jābir's long and comprehensive narration about the Prophet's pilgrimage, which is recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, is that he did not spend the night in Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah. Similarly, al-Bayhaqī relates that ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbbās has said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) set out for ḥajj and when he prayed the two units of prayer in his mosque at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, he made the intention for it (i.e. ḥajj) while he was still sitting there and chanted *talbiyah* to commence ḥajj. Some people heard him doing it and preserved what they heard. Then he mounted and when his she-camel rose up he made *talbiyah* again.

Narrations related by Sunnis also indicate that the Prophet (ṣ) donned *iḥrām* at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah on the same day he left al-Madīnah and that he did not spend the night there.

Al-Bukhārī relates another narration with a similar chain of transmission (*isnād*) and text (*matn*) as the one we previously mentioned: Qutaybah informs us, from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, from Ayyūb, from Abū-Qulābah, from Anas ibn Mālik, who said: The Prophet (ṣ) prayed the noon prayer four units in al-Madīnah and the forenoon prayer two units at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah.

He added: I think he passed the night there until morning.

This report is the same as the first, although there are some differences in both *isnād* and *matn*. In the case of the former, their narrators differ except for the person who heard from the Prophet (ṣ) himself, and that was Anas ibn

Mālik. However, in the last part he said "*I think*," which evinces uncertainty. If the two are actually two versions of the same narration, the uncertainty that is noticeable in the one will surely affect the other, and this will render it undependable as a basis for deduction.

In *Al-Maghāzī*, al-Wāqidī writes: They said: When his (ṣ) wives joined him in preparation for the journey—they had all accompanied him on this pilgrimage, riding inside camel litters—and his companions had assembled, and the offerings brought before him, he entered the mosque of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, prayed two units of prayer after he had prayed the noon prayer. Then he went out and called for the offering and made *ish'ār* on the right side of its hump. Then he mounted his she-camel and on reaching al-Baydā' he donned *iḥrām*.

Khālid ibn Ilyās informed me, from Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū-Salamah ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, that Ummu-Salamah (the Prophet's wife) said: We overtook the Apostle of God (ṣ) at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah at night, accompanied by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf and ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, and we passed the night there. In the morning I saw the sacrificial animals being brought to the Apostle and when he prayed the noon prayer he made *ish'ār* on his offering and hung a sandal on it before entering into the state of *iḥrām*.

After relating these two contradictory reports, al-Wāqidī chose one over the other by way of this remark: The first report is more reliable in my opinion, that is, he did not pass the night there.

Two Remarks

First: Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṣadūq writes in *al-Faqīh*: Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Astarābādī informs me from Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn Ziyād, and ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Yasār, from their fathers, from Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, from his father (i.e. al-Ḥasan from his father ʿAlī), from his forefathers, from the Commander of the Faithful (ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib), who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said: When God the Almighty and Sublime commissioned Moses ibn ʿImrān as a prophet, chose him as a confidant, opened up the sea for him and delivered the Children of Israel, and gave him the Torah and the tablets, he saw the high station to which his Lord had raised him, so he said, "O Lord! You have honored me with the honor You have not bestowed on anybody else before me."

The Most High said to him, “O Moses! Do you not know that Muḥammad is superior to all My angels and all My creation?”

“O Lord! If Muḥammad is more honorable to You than all Your creation, are the families of the Prophet more honorable than my family?” Moses asked.

God the Great and Sublime replied, “O Moses! Do you not know that the superiority of Muḥammad’s family over the families of all the Prophets is like his superiority over all the Prophets?”

Then Moses said, “O Lord, if this is the station of Muḥammad’s family, is there any nation among the nations of the Prophets that You consider superior to mine: You have shaded them with clouds and sent down to them manna and quails and parted the sea for them?”

God said, “O Moses! Do you not know that the superiority of Muḥammad’s nation above all others is commensurate with his merit above all My other creations?”

Moses said, “O Lord, would that I can see them!”

So God communicated to him, “O Moses! You will not see them because this is not the time for their appearance, but you can see them in the gardens of Paradise, the garden of Eden and the garden of Paradise in the company of Muḥammad, where they enjoy its blessings and take pride in the good things they have attained. Do you want Me to make you hear their speech?”

“Yes, O My God,” Moses replied.

God said to him, “Stand before Me and tie up your loincloth as a humble slave would stand in the presence of a mighty king.”

Moses did so. Then our Lord the Mighty and Sublime called out, “O community of Muḥammad!” And they all answered Him from the loins of their fathers and the wombs of their mothers (i.e. they were not born yet), “At Your service, O Lord, at Your service! At Your service, You have no associate, at Your service! Surely all praise is to You and all favors are from You and the dominion is Yours! You have no associate!”

God made that answer the motto of the pilgrimage.

Second: Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṣadūq relates: ʿAlī ibn Ḥātim informs me saying: Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad informs us, from Ḥammād ibn Ḥusayn, from Ḥusayn ibn al-Walīd, from someone who said that he asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa), “What is the reason that the Apostle of God (ṣ) entered into the state of *iḥrām* from the Mosque of the Tree and not from any other place?”

He said, "When he was taken on the Night Journey to the heavens and he passed above the Tree, the angels were going to the Frequented House from positions [in the heavens] which corresponded to *mawāqīt* other than the Tree. When he reached the position above the Tree he was called [by God], 'O Muḥammad,' and he answered, 'At Your service!'

'Did I not find you an orphan and shelter you? Did I not find you astray and guide you?' the Lord said.

Then the Prophet replied, 'Surely, all praise is to You, all favors are from You and the dominion is Yours! You have no associate. At Your service!' This is the reason why he did *iḥrām* from the Tree and not from any other place."

Was the Prophet's pilgrimage *qirān*, *tamattu'*, or *ifrād*?

There are three types of ḥajj: *qirān*, *tamattu'* and *ifrād*.

The form of *tamattu' ḥajj* is for the pilgrim to do *iḥrām* of ḥajj from one of *mawāqīt* with the intention of doing the *'umrah of tamattu'*, and then proceed to Makkah. There he goes round the Kaʿbah seven times, prays two units of prayer by the Station of Abraham, walks between Ṣafā and Marwah seven times and shaves. With this, he comes out of the state of *iḥrām* and this is the end of the *'umrah of tamattu'*. Then he remains in a state of freedom from constrains of *iḥrām* (*muḥill*) until he takes *iḥrām* in Makkah for ḥajj proper. Then, on the ninth day of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, he goes to ʿArafāt and stays there from midday to sunset. Then he goes to Muzdalifah and passes the night there until sunrise of the tenth, after which he goes to Minā, throws stones at the ʿAqabah pillar, slaughters his offering and shaves his head (either a complete shave or a trim). He remains in Minā for two days, the 11th and the 12th of the month (or three days including the 13th), and he stones the three pillars each day during the daytime. He is allowed to go to Makkah on the day of sacrifice or the other days he spends at Minā, to do the duties that are done at Makkah such as the Circumambulation for Visit and the Circumambulation for Ḥajj, seven times each, and pray two units of prayer after each. Then he walks between Ṣafā and Marwah seven times, does the Circumambulation of Women seven times and prays two units of prayer after it at the Station of Abraham. This is the description of the major and minor pilgrimages of *tamattu'*.

Ifrad ḥajj is for the pilgrim to do *iḥrām* at one of the *mawāqīt*, stay at ʿArafāt, go to Muzdalifah and complete the rituals of ḥajj as we have described in the case of *tamattu'*. The difference between this form of ḥajj

and *tamattuʿ* is that it does not include ʿumrah, one is allowed to start with the rituals of Makkah before staying at ʿArafāt and it is permissible to delay the duties of Makkah until the end, while in a *tamattuʿ ḥajj* one is not allowed to start with them before going to ʿArafāt without reason.

In these two types of ḥajj there is no difference of opinion between Shīʿites and Sunnis.

Concerning the third type, *qirān*, the two denominations have differed as to its nature. From the Shīʿah side, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī writes in *al-Khilāf*: *Qirān* is similar to *ifrād* except that the pilgrim drives his sacrificial animal at the time of entering *iḥrām* and this simultaneity is the reason why this type of ḥajj is called *qirān*. It is not permissible to join ḥajj and ʿumrah at the same time or in any way to mix the rituals of ʿumrah with those of ḥajj. Sunni jurists, on the other hand, hold that *qirān* is to combine ḥajj and ʿumrah while entering into *iḥrām* and incorporate the rituals of ʿumrah into those of ḥajj.

On the three types of ḥajj, al-Nawawī, a Sunni scholar, writes: *Ifrad* is to don *iḥrām* for ḥajj in its months and complete it and then do ʿumrah. *Tamattuʿ* is to don *iḥrām* for ʿumrah in the months of ḥajj, finish it and then perform ḥajj in the same year. *Qirān* is to don *iḥrām* for the two together; likewise, if one dons *iḥrām* for ʿumrah and, before doing its circumambulation (*ṭawāf*), incorporates *iḥrām* for ḥajj as well, his pilgrimage as *qirān* is correct. One can be a *qirān* pilgrim with the condition that he intends to join the two before embarking on any acts that render one a *muḥallil* from ḥajj, i.e. come out of the state of ḥajj's *iḥrām*. Another opinion is that it should be prior to standing at ʿArafāt; according to another, before doing an obligatory act; while another says, before doing the Circumambulation of Arrival or any other circumambulation.

The eminent jurist Ayatollah Lankarānī, my master, holds this opinion:

> Based on the Holy Book and Sunnah (i.e. Prophetic tradition), people are divided into two groups with regard to this question: the duty of the first is *tamatuʿ,* while the second can do the other two. This is as regards the prescribed obligatory ḥajj; as for others, whether obligatory (by virtue of being a vow or pledge to God or an oath taken by His Name that one will perform ḥajj, or a hire contract to that effect) or recommended, these divisions of ḥajj do not apply. If a vow or hire contract to perform ḥajj are unqualified, where being unqualified does not affect its acceptability [such as the case where the person on whose behalf ḥajj is to be done was supposed to perform a

particular type of ḥajj, say *tamattuʿ*], one has the choice to perform any of the three types of ḥajj. Similarly, one has the option to specify a particular type when making the vow, pledge or oath of performing ḥajj, or when engaging someone for it; thus a person who resides far away from Makkah (whose duty is *tamattuʿ* in the case of the prescribed obligatory ḥajj) can vow to perform *ifrād ḥajj* and vice versa (i.e. a person who lives around Makkah and whose duty is *ifrād,* in the case of the prescribed obligatory ḥajj can vow to perform *tamattuʿ*). Likewise, in the case of a non-obligatory ḥajj a specific type is not mandatory, whether it is done after the prescribed obligatory ḥajj or before it. However, numerous narrations that can even be considered as having reached the level of *tawātur* (being consecutively transmitted) show that it is better to do *tamattuʿ ḥajj* in optional cases, and the narrations do not single out recommended ḥajj.

Thus, according to the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) school, the *qirān* pilgrim performs only the actions of ḥajj, leaving aside the rites of ʿumrah, and he is called a *qirān* pilgrim by virtue of his driving along the sacrificial animal. On the other hand, the Sunni school holds that the *qirān* pilgrim combines ʿumrah and ḥajj intermingling the rites of the two, and it is called *qirān* because of this combination, whether the pilgrim drives the offering or not.

Going back to our question, was the Prophet's ḥajj *qirān*, *ifrād* or *tamattuʿ*? Before the Farewell Pilgrimage, people were not used to performing the rites of ʿumrah during the ḥajj season. So for this ḥajj as usual, some pilgrims brought along their offerings while others did not, and the season was that of ḥajj only and no ʿumrah was usually done, neither before nor after it. The performing of ʿumrah and then ḥajj in *tamattuʿ* fashion, was a new order that was revealed to the Apostle of God (ṣ) at Marwah, after he had finished the rite of walking between the hills of Ṣafā and Marwah (*saʿy*). Some pilgrims' rejection of the idea of concluding their state of *iḥrām* (*taḥallul*) and shaving after finishing the *saʿy,* showed that this practice was a new thing to them. In fact, their resistance was so strong that the Prophet (ṣ) became angry by their refusal to conclude *iḥrām* and retorted at one of the disputers, "You will never ever believe in it." To put an end to the aversion shown by some of the people of joining ḥajj and ʿumrah into the combined form of *tamattuʿ*, he observed, "'Umrah has become fused into ḥajj in this way until the Day of Resurrection," and he demonstrated it by intertwining his fingers, and added, "If I had known earlier what I have come to know later I would not have driven the offering."

From the foregoing we can see that, when he was still at *mīqāt*, the Prophet (ṣ) was not commanded to perform *tamattuʿ ḥajj* and ʿumrah, because Gabriel descended with the order when he was already at the hill of Marwah. Therefore, he said *talbiyah* and drove along the sacrificial animal to commence ḥajj only, and so did some of those who accompanied him, while most others did not take the offerings with them. In that sense, they all fell into two categories (that is, before the revelation at Marwah): some were *qirān* pilgrims who had the offerings, while others were *ifrād* pilgrims. Based on this, it is not correct to say that the Prophet (ṣ) did *talbiyah* as commencement of both ḥajj and ʿumrah. In fact, while the people were at *mīqāt*, they were unaware of any other duty besides ḥajj, since they were not accustomed to doing ʿumrah before or after ḥajj during its season, and while they were there, the Apostle of God (ṣ) did not receive the new injunction yet, much less teach it to them.

In *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Jābir is reported to have said in his similarly lengthy narration: We did not make the intention of anything but ḥajj, for we did not know *ʿumrah* until we arrived at the House.

Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṣadūq relates from his father, from Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā, from Muḥammad ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Ḥammād, from al-Ḥalabī, who heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) was to perform the Farewell Pilgrimage he set out from al-Madīnah… reached al-Baydā' and wore *iḥrām* there, chanted *talbiyah* for ḥajj and drove a hundred sacrificial camels, and all people took *iḥrām* for ḥajj, neither intending to do *ʿumrah* nor even knowing what *tamattuʿ ḥajj* was, until the Apostle (ṣ) arrived at Makkah and went round the Kaʿbah and people circumambulated along with him. Then he prayed two units of prayer at the Station of Abraham and kissed the Black Stone, and then he went to the Zamzam well and drank from it. Then he said, "Start with that which God the Mighty and Sublime has mentioned first," and he went to Ṣafā, walked to Marwah, and repeated it seven times between the two hills. When he finished at Marwah, he addressed his companions and ordered them to conclude [the partial pilgrimage] as *ʿumrah*…"

In another report, al-Ṣadūq relates from his father and Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Walīd, both from Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh, from al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī, from Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Minqarī, from Faḍl ibn ʿAyyāḍ, who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) about the different views of the people concerning ḥajj: some say that the Apostle of God's *iḥrām* was for ḥajj, others say that that it was for ʿumrah; some say that he started as a *qirān* pilgrim while others say that he set out anticipating the command of God on the matter.

He answered: God the Mighty and Sublime knew that it would be a pilgrimage after which his Apostle would never perform another, so He combined all those aspects in this single journey so that the whole would be a precept to be followed by his community. When he circumambulated the House and walked between Ṣafā and Marwah, Gabriel commanded him [and his companions] to consider what they had performed so far as ʿumrah, except for one who had an offering with him, for it had barred them from concluding it as ʿumrah, because of the saying of God the Mighty and Sublime: "*...until the offering reaches its [assigned] place.*" ʿUmrah and ḥajj have been combined for him although he had set out as the Arabs of old used to do; and, the Arabs knew only ḥajj. In doing so, the Apostle was anticipating the command of God the Mighty and Sublime and he was saying, "People can keep to their norms of the Age of Ignorance, except what Islam has changed." They believed that ʿumrah should not be done in the months of ḥajj, therefore when he told his companions to conclude it as ʿumrah, they could not bear it. The Prophet (ṣ) said this at the time he commanded them to terminate ḥajj, and added, "'Umrah has intermingled with ḥajj forever;" that is, in the months of ḥajj, and crossed the fingers of his hands.

Then I said, "Did he consider a norm of the Age of Ignorance as worthy of respect?"

He replied: The people of that period corrupted every aspect of Abraham's religion except circumcision, marriage and pilgrimage; they kept them well.

The previous report of al-Kulaynī which al-Ḥalabī narrated from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is also explicit, that the Prophet made *iḥrām* for ḥajj only. It is reported in *ʾAwālī al-La'ālī* that when ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbbās was asked concerning the *tamattuʿ* type of pilgrimage, he said: In the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Migrants, the Helpers and the Prophet's spouses said *talbiyah* to commence ḥajj and we all did the same. When we reached Makkah, the Apostle of God (ṣ) ordered us: Turn ḥajj that you have commenced into ʿumrah, except for those who have marked the offering.

Despite this explicit narration, the author of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* relates through various chains of transmission that ʿĀ'ishah has said: We set out together with the Apostle of God (ṣ) in the year of the Farewell Pilgrimage and did *talbiyah* for ʿumrah.

However, ʿĀ'ishah had her period at the beginning so she could not do the circumambulation and the walking between Ṣafā and Marwah; she had to remain in her initial *iḥrām* until she performed the duties of ʿArafāt and

Muzdalifah with it. And after completing her pilgrimage she complained to the Prophet weeping, "Your other wives will return home having performed a pilgrimage and an ʿumrah while I will return with only the pilgrimage"

Therefore, he asked her brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abū-Bakr to ride her on his camel and take her to al-Tanʿīm where she did *talbiyah* for ʿumrah alone, (i.e. a new *iḥrām* for ʿumrah). Then she returned to Makkah and made the circumambulation of the Kaʿbah, walked between Ṣafā and Marwah and trimmed her hair, thus completing her ʿumrah. Therefore, by saying that they set out with the Prophet (ṣ) and did *talbiyah* for the commencement of ʿumrah, she must have thus interpreted the case of those pilgrims who had no offerings, who had to conclude their partial ḥajj as ʿumrah (as commanded by the Prophet) and make a new *iḥrām* at Makkah for ḥajj on the eighth day of the month. This is because neither Muslims nor polytheists knew that ʿumrah could be performed in the months of pilgrimage. This shows that *talbiyah* that the Prophet (ṣ) and all his followers did at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah was that of ḥajj only.

Al-Nawawī writes:

> Scholars hold different opinions on whether the pilgrimage of the Prophet (ṣ) was *ifrād*, *tamattu'* or *qirān*, each group preferring one type of ḥajj in accordance with the principles of its school of jurisprudence and claiming that it was the type the Prophet (ṣ) performed. The truth is that he first started with *ifrād* then later he donned *iḥrām* for ʿumrah and incorporated it into ḥajj, which makes him a *qirān* pilgrim.

Here al-Nawawī accepts the view that the Prophet's *talbiyah* at *mīqāt* was for the commencement of ḥajj only, but to say that he incorporated ʿumrah into ḥajj shows that al-Nawawī was speaking from his school's point of view, as Sunnis consider that permissible. But the Imāmiyyah Shīʿah believe that it is not allowed and that the Prophet (ṣ) remained in his *iḥrām* for ḥajj alone, and because he had driven the sacrificial animal with him he was a *qirān* pilgrim. He had remained in his *iḥrām* even after circumambulation and *sa'y* and did not remove it until after he had gone to ʿArafāt and Muzdalifah, done the activities of the Day of Sacrifice, stoned the pillar of ʿAqabah, slaughtered his offering and shaved. Therefore the difference is to be found in the definition of a *qirān* pilgrimage.

Based on this, the pilgrimage of the Prophet was a *qirān*—the Shīʿah's definition of which is to begin ḥajj and drive the offering at the same time. He did not perform ʿumrah within the rites of ḥajj and this is why he did

only one *sa'y* between Ṣafā and Marwah. He started with circumambulating the House and doing *sa'y* before standing at ʿArafāt, as related in the narration of Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) and the lengthy report of Jābir. Likewise, Muslim related that Jābir said, "The Prophet (ṣ) and his companions did only one *sa'y* between Ṣafā and Marwah," and then commented, "In Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr's narration, he added: his first *sa'y*."

The fact that the Prophet's *sa'y* was only one is incontestable. What scholars meant by those who did *sa'y* only once are those who had driven along their offerings like the Prophet (ṣ) and not all the pilgrims, including those who did not bring their sacrificial animals, those whom the Prophet (ṣ) taught that their duty was *tamattu' ḥajj*. With regard to circumambulation, the Prophet (ṣ) did go round the Kaʿbah a second time on the day of sacrifice as recorded in the two sound narrations: that of Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār and that of Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh. The Shīʿah called this the Circumambulation of Women (*ṭawāff al-Nisā'*) which is an obligatory duty, although not among the pillars of ḥajj. Sunnis call it the Circumambulation of Farewell (*ṭawāff al-wadā'*). Al-Majlisī says, "It is evident that the circumambulation and *sa'y* which the Prophet (ṣ) did in the beginning were those [he did as pillars] of ḥajj, while the last circumambulation he did was the Circumambulation of Women, that is why it is not mentioned that *sa'y* had accompanied it. This action of the Prophet (ṣ) indicates the permissibility of doing circumambulation and *sa'y* before going to ʿArafāt for both *qirān* and *ifrād* pilgrims." He adds, "From this, it is understood that the Prophet (ṣ) did not do ʿumrah together with that ḥajj because he had performed it before, rather, from all indications, his ḥajj was the recommended type."

Teaching people *talbiyah*, *iḥrām* and the rules of pilgrimage

The Prophet (ṣ) was the guide and teacher of Muslims in all facets of life; since that pilgrimage was the first he performed after Islam had spread and gained power and authority, and people had embraced the religion in droves, it was his duty to teach his followers the rites of ḥajj. In this regard, the Apostle (ṣ) said, "Learn the rites of your pilgrimage from me, for I do not know, perhaps I will not live to witness another pilgrimage after this."

In *Da'ā'im al-Islām* it is related from Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa), from his father, from his forefathers (ʿa), that when the Apostle of God (ṣ) embarked on the Farewell Pilgrimage and reached the Tree, he ordered people to pluck the hairs of the armpits, shave the pubic area and the head, take a bath and remove all their habitual clothes. They were asked to wear only a loincloth

and a shawl thrown over the shoulders, or any two pieces of clothing, one to be tied at the waist and the other to be thrown over the back.

The Prophet (ṣ) said to Asmā' bint ʿUmays who was recently in childbed, "Take a bath, wear sanitary protection and don *iḥrām*."

In a report quoted in *al-Ja'fariyyāt*, Imam ʿAlī (ʿa) said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) entered the state of *iḥrām* he said to his wives, "Everything of yours is prohibited for me except looking and speaking, so long I am in a state of *iḥrām* (pilgrim sanctity)." They performed ḥajj together with him.

Ḥurayz ibn ʿAbdullāh relates from Muḥammad ibn Sahl, from his father, from his teachers, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa), and from a number of Shīʿah scholars who had narrated from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), that the two Imams said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) took *iḥrām*, Gabriel (ʿa) came and said to him, "Order your companions to raise their voices with *talbiyah*."

Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh said: And we did not reach al-Rawḥā' before our voices became hoarse.

Yaʿqūb ibn Zayd says: The companions of the Prophet (ṣ) did not reach al-Rawḥā' before their voices grew hoarse on account of the vehemence of their *talbiyah.*

About the right clothing for *iḥrām*, al-Bayhaqī writes: Abū-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdān informs us, from Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, from ʿUbayd ibn Sharīk, from Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr, from Layth, from Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿUmar, who said, "A man stood up and said, 'O Apostle of God, what do you command us to wear for *iḥrām*?'

He replied, 'Do not wear shirts, trousers, turbans, caps or leather socks, except for one who has no sandals: he can wear the socks but he should cut off the portion above the ankles, and do not wear a cloth that is scented with saffron or the *al-waras* dye. Women shall not wear face covers or gloves.'

Asmā' bint 'Umays' giving birth at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah

Al-Kulaynī relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ḥammād, from Ḥurayz, from Zurārah that Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) has said: Asmā' bint ʿUmays gave birth to Muḥammad ibn Abū-Bakr; so, the Apostle of God (ṣ) instructed her, when she wanted to don *iḥrām* at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, to wear sanitary protection (made of cotton wool and a piece of cloth) and chant *talbiyah* to commence ḥajj. When the pilgrims reached Makkah and performed some of the rites, she had spent eighteen days after the delivery but still the blood had not ceased. Nevertheless, the Apostle of God (ṣ) instructed her to do the circumambulation and the prayers, and she complied.

This narration is also recorded in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, quoting *al-Kāfī*.

Going by the Shīʿah reports which state that the Prophet (ṣ) left al-Madīnah for Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah four nights before the end of the month of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, and based on the narrations which show that Asmā' delivered on the same day they reached Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, and keeping in view those reports which say that her bleeding continued after the eighteenth day from her delivery, it can be inferred that for five days of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah and thirteen of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah she was in the condition of parturitional or menstrual bleeding. And after coming back from the standing places (ʿArafāt and Muzdalifah) she went round the Kaʿbah, prayed and made *saʿy* between Ṣafā and Marwah, as we have seen in the previous report. In *al-Faqīh*, it is related that Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār has narrated that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) has said: Asmā' bint ʿUmays gave birth to Muḥammad ibn Abū-Bakr at al-Baydā' four nights before the end of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah during the Farewell Pilgrimage. The Apostle of God (ṣ) instructed her to take a bath, wear sanitary protection, and do *talbiyah* together with him and his companions. When they arrived at Makkah she did not cease bleeding yet and her condition persisted as the pilgrims did the rites and went to Minā but she had visited all the places of standing: ʿArafāt and Jamʿ (i.e. Muzdalifah), and she also stoned the pillars. However she neither circumambulated the House nor did the walking between Ṣafā and Marwah. When the people moved to Minā and on the direction of the Apostle of God she took a bath, went round the Kaʿbah and did the walking between Ṣafā and Marwah. The time she had to wait on account of her condition were the last four nights of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, ten of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and three days of *Tashrīq* (11th, 12th and 13th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah).

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* relates from Ḥasan ibn Saʿīd, from Ṣafwān, from al-ʿAyṣ ibn al-Qāsim, who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) whether a women who experiences istiḥāḍah blood (i.e. semi-menstruation) can don *iḥrām*, and he mentioned Asmā' bint ʿUmays: ʿAsmā' gave birth to her son Muḥammad at al-Baydā', and her delivery was a source of blessing for women who deliver while having the menstrual blood as well. The Apostle of God (ṣ) instructed her to wear the sanitary protection, gird herself with a girdle and don *iḥrām*.

This report appears in *al-Kāfī* as well.

There are similar reports in Sunni collections of *ḥadīth*. The oft-mentioned narration of Jābir as recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* is an example. Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) relates from his father, from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī, who said: When we reached Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, Asmā' bint ʿUmays gave birth to her son

Muḥammad ibn Abū-Bakr, so she sent to the Apostle of God (ṣ) asking him what do. He replied, "Take bath, use sanitary protection and a cloth to keep it in place and don *iḥrām*."

Muslim records ʿĀ'ishah's narration of the same report. Other works also have mentioned this story and this shows that it is a historical fact.

This story indicates that the Muslims, men and women, were very eager to travel to Makkah and perform the pilgrimage to the House in the company of the Prophet (ṣ), to the extent that a pregnant woman who was nearing her time for delivery would set out with him despite the difficulties associated with such a long journey in a state of *iḥrām*. This also shows how important the Farewell Pilgrimage was in the minds of the Prophet's companions. In the present time also—in the years I performed the pilgrimage— we have heard several times that some Iranian ladies have delivered in Makkah and al-Madīnah in spite of the efforts made by the government to prevent women who are nearing delivery from taking this journey.

Surely, Asmā' bint ʿUmays was among the believing women of that time who were known for their firmness, bravery, strong faith, truthfulness and loyalty.

As we have said earlier, the narrative about this lady brought blessings because it had provided the ground for teaching some rules of religion. The Apostle of God (ṣ) explained the rules that affect women in childbirth, menstruation or experiencing the istiḥāḍah blood, with regard to their prayer and pilgrimage. Al-Kulaynī relates, from a number of Shīʿah narrators, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd from Faḍālah ibn Ayyūb, from ʿUmar ibn Abān al-Kalbī, who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh about the condition of a woman experiencing the blood of istiḥāḍah and he mentioned Asmā' bint ʿUmays, saying: Asmā' bint ʿUmays gave birth to Muḥammad ibn Abū-Bakr at al-Baydā' and her delivery was a source of blessing for women, those who newly deliver and those who happen to be in their menstruation. The Apostle of God instructed her to wear sanitary protection, gird herself with a girdle and wear *iḥrām*.

Al-Ṭūsī writes in *Tahdhīb* and *al-Isbibṣār* that Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd has related from Ṣafwān, from Isḥāq ibn ʿAmmār who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) whether menstruating women can do *saʿy* between Ṣafā and Marwah. He replied: Yes, by my life! The Apostle of God (ṣ) instructed Asmā' bint ʿUmays to take a bath, wear her sanitary protection and do the walk between Ṣafā and Marwah, and she did.

The following points can be deduced from the story of Asmā':

1. Ḥajj is an obligatory duty of women just like men.

2. Pregnant women who are nearing their delivery are allowed to make the journey for ḥajj if there is no fear for their safety or that of their fetuses.

3. The *iḥrām* of women who have recently delivered is acceptable and the same rule applies to them as the rest of the people, so they are not allowed to pass *mīqāt* without wearing *iḥrām*.

4. The bath for *iḥrām* by such women is correct and the same rule applies to them as others, whether the bath is considered recommended or obligatory.

5. *Mīqāt* is the area of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah as a whole and not only the mosque, and because of this reason the Prophet (ṣ) did not tell Asmā' to do *talbiyah* inside the mosque by passing through it from one door to another and chanting it as she passes. It will be remembered that we mentioned this before as one of the ways some scholars proffered to solve the problem of menstruating women with regard to *iḥrām* if *mīqāt* is considered to be the mosque.

6. The Prophet and all his fellow pilgrims donned *iḥrām* for ḥajj only; neither for ʿumrah nor for ḥajj and ʿumrah combined.

7. Women who have recently delivered can stand at the *standing places* and this action will be deemed correct and acceptable.

8. Such women are not allowed to circumambulate the House; they will have to wait until they regain their cleanliness.

9. After the passing of the days of parturitional blood (*nifās*), a woman's prayer, circumambulation, and walk between Ṣafā and Marwah are correct and acceptable even if the bleeding continues in the form of *istiḥāḍah*.

10. Before embarking on any action that is governed by some rule of the divine law, one must learn it before starting the action.

Places between al-Madīnah and Makkah where the Prophet prayed and rested and the events that happened along the way

The Apostle of God (ṣ) wore *iḥrām* at *mīqāt* and having taught people who had accompanied him the rules of *iḥrām*, his caravan set out for Makkah. Since the distance to be covered was long and there was little time before the commencement of ḥajj, they travelled rather fast and halted only to pray or refresh. The Prophet (ṣ) performed the prayers in congregation, combining noon and afternoon prayers at the same time, and sunset and night prayers in like manner.

Scholars have written about the places he prayed along the way between the two cities. Ibn Saʿd says: "He continued the journey passing the stations and leading his companions in prayers in his mosques, which people [later] erected thereby delineating their positions."

Obviously, those were places he performed the prayers and rested but the writers did not specify whether he stopped in them during ʿumrah of the year of Ḥudaybiyah treaty, or ʿumrah he made the following year, or the Farewell Pilgrimage itself, in which case it is not indicated whether it was during the outward or the return journey. Some of these places no longer exist, especially that the modern road linking Makkah and al-Madīnah is different from the ancient route. I will mention the names of those places, although they cannot have all been the Prophet's resting and prayer places.

1. The Mosque of the Tree, *mīqāt* of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah.

2. A mosque at the elevation of al-Rawḥā' also known as Al-Sharaf Mosque.

Usāmah ibn Zayd said: When the Prophet (ṣ) reached Baṭn al-Rawḥā' a woman came to him and said, "This son of mine has been afflicted by jinn for the past seven years. They torment him twice every day."

The Apostle of God (ṣ) asked her to bring the child nearer and she did. Then he spat in his mouth and said, "Get out, O enemy of God! I am the Apostle of God," and said to the woman, "When we come back tell us his condition." When he returned the woman went out to meet and welcome him, taking with her two rams, cottage cheese and butter. She said, "O Apostle of God, take this ram," and he said to me, "Take this ram," and he took what he wanted from the presents…

In another version he said, "Take one of the rams," and I took one of them, the cottage cheese and butter. Then the woman said, "I swear by the One Who has honored you, we have not seen any [bad] thing since you left us."

3. ʿIrq al-Ẓabyah Mosque or al-Ẓabyah Mosque.

Ibn Zubālah relates from ʿAmr ibn ʿAwf al-Māzinī, who said: The first military expedition of the Prophet (ṣ) I witnessed was the expedition of al-Abwā'. When we reached al-Rawḥā' at ʿIrq al-Ẓabyah he said to us, "Do you know the name of this hill (meaning Warqān)?"

The people answered, "God and His Apostle know best."

He said, "This is Ḥimṭ, a hill among the hills of Paradise. O Lord, bless it for us and bless it for the inhabitants around it."

Then he asked, “Do you know the name of this valley (meaning the valley of al-Rawḥā')? It is Sajāsij. Surely seventy Prophets have prayed in this mosque before me. Moses son of ʿImrān passed through it (i.e. al-Rawḥā') accompanied by seventy thousand people among the Children of Israel, wearing two short white cloaks and riding a grey she-camel. The Hour will not come to pass until Jesus, son of Mary, passes by it as a pilgrim performing ʿumrah or pilgrimage, or perhaps God will combine the two for him.”

Al-Ṣadūq writes: Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Walīd informs us, from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, from ʿAbbās ibn Maʿrūf, from ʿAlī ibn Mahziyār, from Ḥammād ibn ʿĪsā, from Ḥusayn ibn al-Mukhtār, from Abū-Baṣīr, who said: I heard Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) saying: Moses son of ʿImrān passed through the routes of al-Rawḥā' on a red camel with a halter accompanied by seventy Prophets wearing short white cloaks. As he passed he was chanting: “At Your service! Your slave, son of Your slave, at Your service.”

In another narration al-Ṣadūq relates from his father, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Jaʿfar al-Ḥimyarī, from Ibrāhīm ibn Mahziyār, from his brother ʿAlī ibn Mahziyār, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: Prophet Moses (ʿa) passed through the edges of al-Rawḥā' on a red camel with a bast halter wearing two white short cloaks, saying, “At Your service, O Generous One, at Your service.” Jonah the son of Matthews (ʿa) passed by the edges of al-Rawḥā' chanting, “At Your service, O Remover of great afflictions!” Jesus, son of Mary (ʿa), also traversed the sides of al-Rawḥā' saying, “At Your service! Your slave, the son of Your slave at your service!” And Muḥammad (ṣ) passed through the edges of al-Rawḥā' saying, “At Your service, Lord of the lofty stations! At Your service!”

4. A mosque at the end of Al-Rawḥā'.

5. Al-Munṣaraf Mosque, also known as Mosque of al-Ghazālah.

6. Al-Ruwaythah Mosque.

It is recorded in *Tahdhīb* and a*l-Istibṣār*: From Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā, from Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Bint Ilyās, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Sinān, who said: I heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying: As the Apostle of God (ṣ) passed through al-Ruwaythah while travelling for the pilgrimage, a woman with a boy came forward and asked him, “O Apostle of God! Is ḥajj to be performed for the like of this boy?”

"Yes," he replied, "And you will have the reward for it."

7. Thaniyat Rukūbah Mosque.

8. Al-Athāyah Mosque.

When the Apostle of God reached the station of Athāyah he saw a gazelle sleeping in the shade of a tree, so he told someone to stay by it so that none of the pilgrims should molest it.

9. Al-ʿArj Mosque.

When the Prophet (ṣ) reached al-ʿArj they missed a servant of Abū-Bakr's who was taking care of a camel which carried the luggage of the Prophet (ṣ) and that of his master. Therefore, the people stopped and waited for him for a while, and when he overtook them the camel was not with him. When Abū-Bakr enquired about the camel the servant said that he had lost it, so the former hit his servant by way of correction and said, "You are asked to take care of a single camel but you have neglected it." Meanwhile, the Prophet (ṣ) smiled and told people, "Look at what this *muḥrim* (one who is in a state of *iḥrām*) is doing."

10. Al-Munbajis Mosque.

11. Laḥy-Jamāl Mosque.

Al-Ṣadūq writes in *ʻUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā:* From Jaʿfar ibn Naʿīm ibn Shādhān, from his paternal uncle Muḥammad ibn Shādhān, from Faḍl ibn Shādhān who said: I heard al-Riḍā (ʿa) relating from his father, from his forefathers, from ʿAlī (ʿa) that the Apostle of God (ṣ) had a cupping while he was a fasting *muḥrim*.

This narration is also mentioned in *Wasā'il al-Shīʿah* and *Jāmiʿ al-Masānīd wa'l-Sunan*, as related by Ibn ʿAbbās. It appears that the conjunction 'and' between two clauses is missing and the expression should have read "*while he was fasting and while he was muḥrim*," because fasting during a journey is not allowed. As for cupping, a person in a state of *iḥrām* is permitted to have it where necessary, but it is disliked for someone who is fasting. Therefore, if there were two clauses joined by a conjunction rather than two adjectives: 'fasting *muḥrim*,' the meaning would have been that the Prophet (ṣ) had cupping while he was in *iḥrām*, and had it another time while he was fasting, when health reasons had necessitated it. With this reasoning, there must have been two instances not just one in a single journey. This explanation is necessary because of the prohibition of fasting during a trip.

12. Mudlijat-Tiʿhin Mosque.

13. Al-Ramaḍah Mosque.

14. Al-Abwā' Mosque.

It is related in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*: Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā said: I recited for Mālik the narration: From Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUbaydullāh ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from al-Ṣaʿb ibn Juthāmah al-Laythī who said: I gave an onager to the Prophet (ṣ) while he was at al-Abwā' but he rejected it. When he saw that I was not happy he explained: I only rejected your offer because I am in *iḥrām*.

When he reached the valley of ʿAsfān, the Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "O Abū-Bakr! Do you know what valley this is?"

"This is Valley of ʿAsfān," Abū-Bakr replied.

Then he added, "The prophets Hūd (ʿa) and Ṣāliḥ (ʿa) have passed by through this valley riding red camels with bast halters. Each of them was wearing a woolen loincloth and a woolen shawl, which was actually a cloak. They passed by saying *talbiyah* for the pilgrimage."

The Apostle passed by the valley of Kirāʿ al-Ghamīm and its inhabitants complained to him of difficulty, strain and weakness. He said to them, "Tighten your girdles and engross yourselves in the task." They followed his advice and were cured of their infirmity.

It is written in *al-Maḥāsin* that Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: As the Apostle of God left Kirāʿ al-Ghamīm, foot-travelers queued along the way hoping for his prayer, which he did. He said, "O Lord, grant them their reward and give them strength," and then advised them, "If you had taken recourse to fast walking, your bodies would have been supple and you would have been able to cover the journey easier." They did as he said and their bodies became supple."

15. ʿAqabat-Harshā Mosque

Ibn ʿAbbās said: We were travelling with the Apostle of God (ṣ) between Makkah and al-Madīnah when we passed through a valley and he asked, "What valley is this?" "Valley of al-Azraq," the people answered. He said, "It is as if I am seeing Moses son of ʿImrān (ʿa) closing his ears with his fingers and raising his voice in all humbleness and chanting *talbiyah* as he passes through this valley." Then we moved on until we came across a narrow pass. He asked, "Which pass is this?" and the people answered, "It is the Harshā Pass or Laft Pass." Then he said, "It seems as if I am seeing Jonah wearing a woolen cloak and riding a red camel with a bast halter,

passing through this valley and saying *talbiyah.*"

16. Al-Juḥafah Mosque.

17. Ṭaraf Qadīd Mosque.

18. A mosque at the stony area of ʿaqabat-Khālis.

19. Khālis Mosque.

20. Mosque at plain of Marr al-Zahrān.

21. Sārif Mosque.

The author of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* relates: This narration is related to us by Abū-Bakr ibn Abī-Shaybah, ʿAmr al-Nāqid and Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb, all from Ibn ʿUyaynah. ʿAmr said: Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah informs us, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim, from his father, from ʿĀ'ishah, who said: We set out together with the Prophet (ṣ) intending nothing but the pilgrimage. When we arrived at Sārif or near it, my period started. The Prophet (ṣ) entered [my tent] and found me crying, so he asked whether I was having my period and I replied in the affirmative. Then he said, "This is a thing that God has created in the daughters of Adam. Perform all what the pilgrims will perform but do not circumambulate the House until you take your bath (i.e. the ritual bath taken after the menstruation period)."

In another *ḥadīth* on this matter, ʿĀ'ishah said: On the day of sacrifice my menstruation stopped and the Apostle of God asked me to do the rites of ʿArafāt and I did. Then some beef was brought to us and I asked what it was for and they said that the Apostle (ṣ) had slaughtered a cow as offering on behalf of his wives. In the night of the 13th of the month (*laylat al-ḥisbah*) I said to him, "O Apostle of God, people will return to al-Madīnah having performed ḥajj and ʿumrah, while I have only ḥajj?" Then he ordered [my brother] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abū-Bakr to ride me on his camel and take me to al-Tanʿīm. As I was a young girl then, I would doze off on the back of the litter and it would leave marks on my face. We reached al-Tanʿīm and I made *talbiyah* for ʿumrah which evened ʿumrah that people had performed.

Sārif is a place near Makkah on the way to al-Madīnah. Its distance from Makkah is said to be six or seven miles, although others say ten or twelve.

22. Al-Tanʿīm Mosque. It lies at a point, the distance of one arrow shot from the Holy Mosque of Makkah.

23. Dhū-Ṭuwā Mosque.

24. Al-Ṣafrā' Mosque.

25. Dhāt Al Mosque.

26. Ḍafrān Mosque.

27. Al-Barūd Mosque.

28. A mosque on the way to Mabrak.

The time some people spent in travelling from al-Madīnah to Makkah

Before discussing about the number of days the Prophet spent on the way, we will mention some people who made this journey and the time they spent on the way.

1. It is reported *Qurb al-Isnād* that ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar has said: I travelled with my brother Mūsā (ʿa) four times for *ʿumrah*. He went to Makkah on foot accompanied by his family and dependents. We spent twenty-six days in one, twenty-five in the second, twenty-four in the third and twenty-one in the fourth.

It may be observed that ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar pointed out that they travelled on foot, not mounted.

2. Shaykh al-Mufīd narrates from a number of narrators, from Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī, from his father who said: ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) has performed ḥajj travelling on foot. He spent twenty days going from al-Madīnah to Makkah.

3. In *al-Faqīh*, Ayyūb ibn Aʿyun is reported to have said: I heard Walīd ibn Subayḥ telling Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa): Abū-Ḥanīfah saw the new moon of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah in al-Qādisiyyah but he attended the ʿArafāt rites with us.

The Imam (ʿa) commented, "The prayer of this one is not acceptable, the prayer of this one is not acceptable."

4. ʿAbdullāh ibn Abī-Shaybah writes in *al-Muṣannaf*: Abū-Usāmah informed us, from Burayd ibn ʿAbdullāh, from his grandfather Abū-Burdah, who said: I saw the new moon of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah in Kūfah and met the people at the *standing place* in the evening of ʿArafāt Day, and Abū-Mūsā (ʿa) did not consider this blameworthy.

5. In another narration, Ibn Abī-Shaybah says: Wakīʿ informed us, from Muḥammad ibn Barjān, from Jābir ibn Yazīd, who said that he traveled from al-Baṣrah to Makkah in twelve (or thirteen) days.

6. Ibn Abī-Shaybah also said: Abū-Bakr ibn ʿAyyāsh informed us, from ʿĀṣim, from Ibn al-Musayyab, who said: When ʿUmar was assassinated,

ʿAbdullāh [ibn ʿUmar] arrived [in Makkah] from al-Madīnah in eight days.

7. In another narration he said: Azhar informed us, from Ibn ʿAwn, from Nāfiʿ, who said that he heard Ibn ʿUmar say that he travelled from Makkah to al-Madīnah in three days when he sought help against Ṣafiyyah.

8. Nāṣir Khosrowī says: The distance between Makkah and al-Madīnah is a hundred *farsakh*s but the road is good. We covered it in eight days.

This was in the year 439 A.H. which was a year of drought and famine and the Sultan of Egypt had prevented the people from travelling for ḥajj. Therefore, he commissioned the traveler Nāṣir Khosrowī to take the covering of the Kaʿbah (*al-Kiswah*) from Egypt to al-Madīnah. After spending two days in al-Madīnah, he proceeded to Makkah where he arrived on the 6th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah.

9. Further on in his book, Nāṣir Khosrowī wrote: In the year 440 A.H. a group of people from Khurāsān went on pilgrimage. They arrived in al-Madīnah on the 6th day of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and 104 *farsakhs* still remained before they would reach ʿArafāt. They announced that anyone who could lead them to Makkah in three days so that they may be there in time for the ḥajj would earn forty dinars for each pilgrim while the fee was five dinars per person. Hearing this, some Bedouin guides responded and transported them on fast camels, each camel carried one passenger. In two and a half days they were in ʿArafāt. When they arrived there, two of the men had already died, while the remaining four were very much exhausted; they could neither stand on their feet nor speak. On their way, whenever they pleaded with the guides to keep the money but stop the camels to save their lives they did not seem to hear them, they simply urged on the camels as violently as ever. The four men, who escaped death, performed their pilgrimage and returned home.

10. The author of *Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn*, Ibrāhīm Rifʿat Pasha, says that he had set out with the Egyptian caravan from Makkah on Thursday the 28th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah 1318 A.H. and they reached al-Madīnah on the 12th of Muḥarram. The month of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah of that year had twenty-nine days, which means they spent fourteen days on the way. He also mentioned all the stations where they stopped over.

The Prophet covered this distance in nine days riding a mount

Dr. Ḥusayn Mu'nis writes in *Aṭlas Tārīkh al-Islām*: The distance between Makkah and al-Madīnah is covered in 117 hours of journey by camel.

It is reckoned that a distance of four kilometers is covered in an hour.

Based on what is mentioned in the long narration of Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār and other narrations, the Apostle of God (ṣ) set out four nights before the end of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah.

If we count the day he left in which he prayed the noon prayer at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, then he had started from al-Madīnah five days before the end of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, and since he arrived in Makkah on the fourth day of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah he had spent nine days on the way.

We have said before that he travelled on a mount. The author of *'Ilal al-Sharā'i'* reports from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Rifāʿah ibn Mūsā al-Nakhkhās, who related that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) was asked whether it was more meritorious to travel for the pilgrimage on foot or to ride, and he replied: Riding is better because the Apostle of God (ṣ) rode when he travelled for ḥajj.

In Jābir's long narration, we read: And the Apostle of God (ṣ) prayed in the mosque and then mounted al-Quṣwā' (his she-camel).

Many other reports show that the Prophet (ṣ) made this journey riding a mount.

These reports prove that the Prophet (ṣ) travelled from al-Madīnah to Makkah on a mount. I did not come across a single narration which says that he walked on foot for ḥajj or ʿumrah; from al-Madīnah to Makkah, or from Makkah to the other sites of ḥajj ceremonies: ʿArafāt, Muzdalifah and Minā, or on his return journey to al-Madīnah.

However, most of the pilgrims who travelled with the Apostle of God (ṣ) went on foot. In *Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār* it is reported from Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd, from Faḍālah ibn Ayyūb, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) whether a man who owes money must do the pilgrimage and he said, "Yes. The prescribed ḥajj is obligatory on any Muslim who can afford to travel [even] on foot. Most of the people who accompanied the Prophet (ṣ) on his pilgrimage were foot travelers. We have mentioned above that when he passed by Kirāʿ al-Ghamīm the pilgrims complained of difficulties of travel and bodily weakness, and he advised them to tighten up their belts and apply themselves to the task before them. They followed his advice and were cured of their infirmity."

In *al-Faqīh*, a similar narration is reported from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār. The author of *Biḥār al-Anwār* says: Most of the pilgrims who accompanied the Apostle of God (ṣ) travelled on foot.

Stories heard from the Prophet during the journey

1. Al-Ṭūsī narrates in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* and *al-Istibṣār* through a number of narrators, from Mūsā ibn al-Qāsim, from Ḥasan ibn Maḥbūb, from ʿAlī ibn Ri'āb, from Abū-ʿUbaydah al-Ḥadhdhā', who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) about the rules concerning a man who vows to God that he will travel to Makkah bare-footed. He replied: The Apostle of God (ṣ) set out on pilgrimage and on the way he saw a woman walking between the camels and asked who she was. They said that she was the sister of ʿUqbah ibn ʿĀmir and she had vowed to God to walk to Makkah unshod. On hearing this, the Apostle of God (ṣ) said to ʿUqbah, "O ʿUqbah, go and instruct your sister to ride, for God is needless of her walking and her being unshod." [He did so] and she mounted.

2. Al-Shārid ibn Suwayd al-Thaqafī said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) set out for the Farewell Pilgrimage. One day, during our journey, as I was walking on foot, I heard the tread of a she-camel behind me and when I turned round I saw that it was the Apostle of God (ṣ) riding behind me. He asked, "Al-Shārid?" and I replied in the affirmative. "Do you want me to ride you behind me?" He asked. I answered "Yes," although I was neither weak nor exhausted, but I wanted to get the blessing of riding behind the Apostle of God (ṣ). He made the camel kneel down and I mounted. When we resumed, he asked, "Do you know any of Umayyah ibn Abī-al-Salt's poetry?" I said, "Yes," and he said "Recite!" So, I recited a hundred verses for him. Whenever I recited a verse he would express commendation until I recited a hundred. Then he remarked, "He almost embraced Islam."

3. A man from al-Yamāmah came to the Prophet (ṣ) carrying a baby boy that was delivered on that day. He was covered in a cloth. The Prophet said to the baby, "Baby boy, who am I?" and he answered him, "You are the Apostle of God." Then he said, "God bless you." After that, the baby did not talk again until he grew into a youth.

4. ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) gazed at the train of camels of the pilgrims and said: For every hoof that is raised, a good deed is recorded for them; and for every hoof that is put down, a bad deed is erased for them; and when they finish their rites, it will be said to them: You have erected a building so do not demolish it. Your past deeds have been taken care of so act righteously in your future endeavors.

5. Al-Ṭūsī relates that Anas ibn Mālik said: The Prophet (ṣ) saw an exhausted man walking, supported by his two sons (or by two men) and asked what was happening. People said, "He vowed to God that he will

perform ḥajj walking on foot." He said, "God the Mighty and Sublime is needless of his self-mortification. Tell him to ride and offer a sacrificial animal."

6. According to another narration, Usāmah relates: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said to me, "O Usāmah, can you find a place for my convenience?" I said, "O Apostle of God, people are sitting all over the valley."

Then the Apostle (ṣ) said, "Look around whether you can find a group of palm trees or rocks." I said, "O Apostle of God, I have seen some scattered palm trees and piles of stones." He said, "Go to the palm trees and tell them that the Apostle of God (ṣ) has ordered them to draw close to one another to make a toilet for the Apostle of God (ṣ) and tell the stones also to do the same." So I went and told them. I swear by Him Who has sent him forth with the Truth, I saw the palm trees making furrows in the ground as they moved to group together, and the stones scrambling to gather into a pile behind the palm trees. I went and reported to him what had happened, and he said, "Take the water bag and go," [and I did]. After finishing and coming back he said, "O Usāmah, return to the trees and stones and tell them: The Apostle of God (ṣ) orders you to go back to your former positions."

7. A number of Sunni sources read that when the Prophet (ṣ) went on ḥajj with his wives, Ṣafiyyah's camel knelt down somewhere on the way and she cried. When the Prophet (ṣ) was informed, he came to her place and, wiping her tears with his hand, persuaded her to stop weeping, but to no avail, so he ordered a halt. At the time they were set to move on, he said to Zaynab bint Jaḥsh (one of his wives) who possessed more camels than the rest, "Please Zaynab, lend your sister (i.e. Ṣafiyyah) a camel," but she retorted, "I, to lend your Jewess!" This attitude of Zaynab angered the Prophet (ṣ), so he stopped speaking to her from that time until he went to Makkah, finished his pilgrimage and stayed there, returned to al-Madīnah and spent the months of Muḥarram and Ṣafar. He stopped visiting her house and assigning the days for her as he did for the rest of his spouses, until she despaired of reconciliation. On the onset of Rabīʿ al-Awwal he entered her house and once again became happy with her.

8. In *Al-Maghāzī*, al-Wāqidī relates the following story which is narrated by Nājiyah ibn Jundab: During the pilgrimage of the Apostle of God (ṣ), I led a group of young men from the tribe of Aslam to drive his sacrificial camels. They had saddle blankets and we were driving them at a fast pace looking for pasture. I said, "O Apostle of God, look at the diseased one among them, what do I do with it?" He replied, "Slaughter it and throw the sandal [that is

hung on its neck as the token of its being an offering] into its blood and then strike at the right side of its neck. You and your associates should not eat from its meat."

[In another portion of the story, he continued]: Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) passed by a man driving a sacrificial camel and said to him, "Ride it!" The man said, "It a consecrated camel." "Ride it," the Prophet (ṣ) repeated. He used to tell those travelling on foot to ride the camels that were consecrated for sacrifice.

9. People said that ʿĀ'ishah used to say: I applied perfume to *iḥrām* clothes of the Apostle of God (ṣ) with my own hands.

She also used to say: I donned *iḥrām* with the Apostle of God (ṣ), and I perfumed myself. When we reached al-Qiḥāḥ, some ruddiness crept over my face and he said, "How fine your complexion has become presently, O Shuqayrah (the red one)!" Along the way from Makkah to al-Madīnah the Apostle of God (ṣ) prayed the four-unit prayers only two units, while he was safe and feared nothing but God. When he arrived at Makkah he prayed two units and concluded, then he said to the people, "Complete your prayers, O people of Makkah, [we have curtailed ours because] we are travelers."

10. [In another portion of the story, he continued]: ʿĀ'ishah said: On Sunday morning the Apostle of God (ṣ) was at Malāl, and from there he proceeded, and by evening he had reached Sharaf al-Sayyālah where he prayed the sunset and night prayers. He prayed the dawn prayer at ʿIrq al-Ẓabyah, between al-Sayyālah and al-Rawḥā', in the mosque which lies to the right of the road. Then he camped at al-Rawḥā'. Just then, a wounded ass appeared and people said, "O Apostle of God, this ass is wounded," upon which he responded, "leave it alone, it will go to its owner." It came to al-Nahdī, who was the owner and he gave it to the Apostle (ṣ) who told Abū-Bakr to [slaughter it and] share its meat among the people, observing, "The [flesh of] game of the land is lawful for you, except that which you hunt yourself or is purposely hunted for you.' Then the Apostle (ṣ) left al-Rawḥā' and prayed the afternoon prayer at al-Munṣaraf and remained there until he prayed the sunset and night prayers and had his supper. He [resumed the journey and] prayed the dawn prayer at al-Athāyah, and by sunrise of Tuesday he was at al-ʿArj.

11. Abū-Ḥamzah ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Maṣūn informs me, from ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubayr, from Asmā' bint Abī-Bakr, who said: In al-Madīnah, before they set out, Abū-Bakr had told the Apostle of God (ṣ) that he had prepared a camel to carry their provisions and the Apostle (ṣ) accepted the proposal, so

they used the same luggage camel. The Prophet (ṣ) ordered the provisions, which included wheat and barley flour, to be prepared for the journey and it was packed on Abū-Bakr's camel, which his servant was allowed to ride part of the way. At al-Athāyah he dismounted and made his camel kneel down, and, shortly afterwards, he fell asleep. The camel rose and strayed into mountain trails drawing its halter behind it. When he woke up, he continued his journey along the road thinking that it had gone in that direction. He kept asking the people he met about his camel but did not get any information. The Apostle of God (ṣ) halted at al-ʿArj and Abū-Bakr's servant arrived there at midday. "Where is your camel?" Abū-Bakr asked him. "I have lost it," he replied. Abū-Bakr said, "Woe unto you, if I was the only person affected it would have been easy for me but this loss involves the Apostle of God and his family!" After a while Ṣafwān ibn al-Muʿaṭṭal, who was leading the water carriers of the caravan, arrived and made his camel kneel down at the door of the Prophet's tent and said to Abū-Bakr, "Check if you miss any of your belongings." He checked and said, "We miss nothing except a wooden bowl we use for drinking." His servant said, "It is here with me." Abū-Bakr said, "God has returned what you have been entrusted with."

Abū-Ḥamzah informs me, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Saʿd al-Aslamī, from some members of the family of Naḍlah al-Aslamī who said to him that they had been informed that the Apostle of God's luggage camel was lost so they took a bowl of sopped bread to him. He called Abū-Bakr, "Come here O Abū-Bakr, God has brought you a wholesome meal for lunch!" After a while Abū-Bakr grew annoyed with his servant but the Apostle of God (ṣ) said to him, "Take it easy for the matter does not rest with you, nor with us together. The boy has done his best in looking after the camel, and this is a replacement for what he has lost." The Prophet (ṣ), his family, Abū-Bakr and all the people who were present ate from the bowl to their satisfaction.

Then Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah and his son Qays brought a luggage camel laden with provisions and headed toward the Apostle of God (ṣ). They met him standing by the door of his tent and found that God had returned his luggage camel to him. Saʿd said to him, "We heard that the servant had lost your luggage camel. Take this one in its place." The Apostle (ṣ) replied, "God has returned our camel to us so keep yours for yourselves. May God bless you! O Abū-Thābit, is all the hospitality you showed us since we immigrated to al-Madīnah not enough?" "O Apostle of God!" Saʿd returned, "Favors are from God and His Apostle. O Apostle of God, surely what you take from our wealth is more desirable to us than what you turn down." The Apostle (ṣ) said, "What you said is true, O Abū-Thābit. Rejoice, for you have prospered.

Good traits are part of God's providence; He bestows them on whoever He wishes, and He has given you good traits." Saʿd said, "Praise be to God Who has done that to me." Thābit ibn Qays observed, "O Apostle of God, Saʿd's family was our lords before the coming of Islam and they used to feed us during droughts," and he answered, "The people's stations are in hierarchies: their chosen ones before Islam remain their chosen ones after its advent if they learn the religion. They will maintain the positions they held at the time they embraced Islam."

12. Ibn Abī'l-Zinād, who was also called *Jamīlun Dhikruhū*, said: At Laḥy Jamal, the Apostle of God had a cupping on the crown of his head while he was in a state of *iḥrām*.

I heard this from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Ibn Abī-Zinād and Sulaymān ibn Bilāl, who related from ʿAlqamah ibn Abī-ʿAlqamah, from al-Aʿraj ibn Buhaynah, that The Apostle of God (ṣ) halted at al-Suqyah on Wednesday and [proceeded until he reached al-Abwā' by the morning [of Thursday]. There al-Ṣaʿb ibn Jaththāmah gave him an old onager dripping with blood but he rejected it and said: We are in a state of *iḥrām*.

Muʿāwiyah [ibn Abī-Sufyān] used to say: I saw the Apostle of God eating husked chickpeas that were sent to him from Waddān, then he rose to pray without repeating his ablution. He prayed in the mosque opposite the valley of al-Abwā' on your right as you face the direction of Makkah. Then he left al-Abwā' and continued his journey and prayed at Ṭalʿat al-Yaman where a rush plant once grew.

Aflaḥ ibn Ḥumayd informed me that his father said: Ibn ʿUmar used to relate that the Prophet (ṣ) sat under the plant and that he (Ibn ʿUmar) used to empty a water-skin at the stump with the intention of reviving it.

13. Aflaḥ ibn Ḥumayd informed me from his father from Ibn ʿUmar, who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) prayed in the mosque at the place (Talʿat al-Yaman) when he descended from the Arāk mountain pass and arrived at al-Juḥafah on Friday. He moved on again and prayed in the Mosque on the heights, from which the pilgrims don their *iḥrām* outside al-Juḥafah, and at the mosque before Khumm on the left side of the road. On Saturday, he was at Qudayd. He prayed at al-Mushallil mosque and at the mosque after Lafat.

14. Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm informed me, from his father, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said: On that day the Prophet (ṣ) passed by a woman with a small child in a litter. She held its arm said, "O Apostle of God! Is ḥajj acceptable from this one?" "Yes," he replied, and you will have the reward."

On Sunday he was at ʿAsfān which he left the same day. When he reached al-Ghamīm the foot travelers came up to him in rows and complained of the trudge, so he advised them to take recourse to fast walking and they did so and got relief. On Monday he was at Marr al-Zahrān, where he stayed until evening. When the sun set, he did not pray the sunset prayer until he entered Makkah. When he reached the two mountain passes, Kudān and Kudā', he spent the night between them. In the morning he took a bath and entered the city of Makkah in daytime.

The Prophet's arrival in Makkah, his entering the Holy Mosque and his circumambulation

The Holy Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) had emigrated from Makkah ten years before, in fear and apprehension of the evil intentions of the Qurayshite chiefs, the leaders of polytheism. He and his companion had to hide in a cave for three days before they could proceed to Yathrib (original name of al-Madīnah) with the help of a guide. Now he was reentering Makkah in broad daylight on this auspicious day accompanied by tens of thousands Muslims, while the Makkan chieftains were in total submission to this leader and conqueror who had returned to venerate the sacraments of God, honor His House, and teach the rites of His religion.

After making this long journey, on the fourth day of the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, the Apostle of God reached Makkah, and entered the city from its heights, from the mountain road taken by the people of al-Madīnah, as reported from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa). In *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* it is related that the Apostle of God (ṣ) spent the night in Ṭuwā and in the morning he took a bath and entered Makkah in the daytime.

In Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh's narration as related by al-Bayhaqī in his *Sunan*, we read: We entered Makkah in the forenoon and the Prophet (ṣ) went straight to the mosque.

The author of *al-Maghāzī* writes: When he reached the two mountain passes, Kudā and Kadā', he camped between them for the night. In the morning he took a bath and entered the city of Makkah in the daytime. Ibn ʿAbbās says: The Apostle of God (ṣ) entered Makkah in the daytime from Kudā. He rode al-Quṣwā', his she-camel, to al-Abṭuḥ, and entered from the direction of the heights, until he arrived at the door of the Holy Mosque, known as the Door of Banū-Shaybah. When he saw the House, he raised his hands [in prayer], and the halter of his she-camel fell and he took it in his left hand. He prayed, "O Lord! Increase this House in honor, greatness, dignity and munificence." He added: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) entered the mosque, he started with circumambulation before praying.

Some narrations say that when he gazed at the Kaʿbah he raised his hands and said "God is great," and prayed, "O Lord, You are the Peace and from You comes peace. Our Lord, make us live in peace. O Lord, increase this House in honor, greatness and dignity, and increase whoever visits it for ḥajj or ʿumrah, in honor, dignity, greatness and munificence."

ʿAbdullāh ibn Sinān relates that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: When he entered Makkah, he came from the direction of its heights, from al-ʿAqabah. On reaching the door of the mosque, (Ibn Sinān said it was the Door of Banū-Shaybah), he faced the Kaʿbah and praised God and glorified Him and invoked God's blessings upon his forefather Abraham (ʿa), and then he went to the Stone and touched it. Then he circumambulated the House and prayed two circles of prayer behind the Station of Abraham (ʿa).

In *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* it is related that ʿAlī (ʿa) said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) entered the Holy Mosque for the Farewell Pilgrimage, he commenced by touching the Corner, and started the circumambulation. He went round the Kaʿbah seven times and the people went round with him.

In *al-Kāfī*, from Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from someone he mentioned, from Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar al-Nawfalī from Ibrāhīm ibn ʿĪsā, from his father, from Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) circumambulated the Kaʿbah and when he reached the Yemeni corner he raised his head towards the House and said: Praise be to God Who honored and venerated you. Praise be to God Who sent me forth as a Prophet and made ʿAlī an Imam (a leader). O Lord, Guide toward him the best of Your creation and ward off from him the worst of Your creation.

In *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, from al-Ṭirimmāḥ who said: I heard al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ʿa) saying: We were together with the Prophet (ṣ) during the circumambulation and it rained. He said: Restart your work for your past mistakes have been forgiven.

Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab relates: Whenever the Prophet (ṣ) passed by the Yemeni corner he would say, "O Lord, I seek refuge with you from unbelief, humiliation and poverty, and from disgraceful situations in this world and the next. Our Lord, give us good in this world and good in the hereafter and save us from the punishment of the fire."

Then a man said, "O Apostle of God, what if I am in a hurry?"

"Even if you were in more haste than the lightening of a barren cloud," he replied.

In the same vein, al-Sā'ib relates that he has heard the Prophet (ṣ), while he was between the Yemeni corner and that of the black stone, saying: Our Lord, give us good in this world and good in the hereafter and save us from the punishment of the fire.

The Apostle (ṣ) has ordered his Muslim nation to touch the black stone. Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said: Touch the corner [in which the black stone is fixed] for it is the right hand of God in His creation with whom he shakes hands the way a freeman or a slave shake hands. It bears witness for whoever touches it as having visited.

Another narration quotes Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) as saying: Whenever the Apostle (ṣ) [approached] the Stone to touch it the people would make way for him.

In *al-Kāfī*, Shaykh al-Kulaynī also says that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) used to touch it (i.e. the black stone) in all circumambulations, whether obligatory or recommended.

Al-Bayhaqī relates Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh's narration, which says: The Apostle of God (ṣ) touched the Stone and kissed it, then he touched the Yemeni corner and kissed his hand.

Muḥammad ibn Masʿūd al-ʿAyyāshī relates in his commentary on the Qur'ān, a narration from ʿUbaydullāh al-Ḥalabī from Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) and Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) that when ʿUmar [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb] performed his first pilgrimage after becoming caliph, the Migrants and the Helpers accompanied him for ḥajj. That year ʿAlī (ʿa) also went for ḥajj with Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ʿa), and ʿAbdullāh ibn Jaʿfar… When the pilgrims entered Makkah, they went round the House and ʿUmar touched the Stone and said, "I swear by God, I know that you are only a stone that does neither harm nor benefit. Had it not been that the Apostle of God (ṣ) has touched you I would not touch you."

ʿAlī (ʿa) remarked, "Keep your peace, O Abū-Ḥafṣ, and do not say so. Indeed the Apostle of God (ṣ) did not touch it except on account of something he knew. If you had read the Qur'ān and understood its interpretation as others did, you would have known that it (the Stone) is capable of harm and benefit; it has a pair of eyes, a pair of ears and a fluent tongue by which it bears witness for whoever visits it, that they have fulfilled their covenant."

"O Abū'l-Ḥasan," ʿUmar returned. "Tell me where it is mentioned in the Qur'ān."

ʿAlī said, "The words of God the Exalted: ʿ*When your Lord took from the Children of Adam, from their loins their descendants, and made them bear witness over themselves and [He said to them,]: Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes, indeed! We bear witness.* When they accepted to obey and affirmed Him as the Lord, and that they were His bondservants, He entered into a covenant with them that they would perform the pilgrimage to His Sacred House. Then God created a parchment thinner than [a film of] water and said to the Pen, ʿWrite: The fulfillment of My creatures [obligation] is achieved by visiting My Holy House.' Thus, the Pen wrote down the fulfillment of the Children of Adam in the parchment then it was said to the stone: ʿOpen your mouth,' and it did so and swallowed the parchment. Then He said to the stone, ʿPreserve it and bear witness to my servants' fulfilling of their covenant.' Then the stone descended in obedience to God's commands. O ʿUmar, when you touch the stone do not you say: I have redeemed my pledge and fulfilled my covenant so that you may testify that I have discharged my duty?"

ʿUmar said, "Most certainly." Then ʿAlī (ʿa) said to him, "Be assured of that."

In *al-Kāfī*: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr (in another chain of transmission: from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Faḍl ibn Shādhān, from Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā and Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr), from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥajjāj, who said that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: I was going round the Kaʿbah while Sufyān al-Thawrī was also going round close to me. He said, "O Abū-ʿAbdullāh! What did the Apostle of God (ṣ) do when he reached the Stone?" I said, "The Apostle of God (ṣ) used to touch it in all circumambulations, whether obligatory or recommended." Then he stayed behind me a little, and, as I reached the Stone, I passed without touching it, so he caught up with me and said, "O Abū-ʿAbdullāh! Did you not inform me that the Apostle of God (ṣ) used to touch the Stone in all circumambulations, whether obligatory or recommended?" I said, "Yes." Then he said, "But you passed by it and did not touch it." I said, "People used to regard the Apostle of God (ṣ) with the level of esteem with which they do not regard me. Whenever he reached the Stone they made way for him so that he may touch it. And I dislike congestion."

In another report: From a number of our Shīʿah scholars, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Ghiyāth ibn Ibrāhīm, from Jaʿfar (ʿa), from his father (ʿa), who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) used to touch only the Black Stone and the Yemeni corner [of the Kaʿbah]; he would kiss them and lay his cheek on them. I saw my father do the same.

From a number of our Shīʿah scholars, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Jamīl ibn Darrāj, who reported that he heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying: I was going round the Kaʿbah when suddenly a man said, "Why are these two corners touched but the other two are not?"

I said, "The Apostle of God (ṣ) touched these two and left out the other two, so do not touch them since the Apostle of God (ṣ) did not do so."

Jamīl ibn Darrāj said: I saw Abū-ʿAbdullāh touching all the corners.

From a number of our Shīʿah scholars, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from al-Barqī [who skipped some intermediary narrators and said:] from Zayd al-Shaḥḥām Abū-Usāmah who said: I was going round the Kaʿbah together with Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) and whenever he reached the Stone he stroked it with his hand and kissed the hand, and whenever he reached the Yemeni corner he clung to it. I said, "May I be your ransom! Do you stroke the Stone with your hand and cling to the Yemeni corner?"

He said, "The Apostle of God (ṣ) said: Whenever I come to the Yemeni corner I find that Gabriel is there before me and is clinging to it."

Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṣadūq relates through his chain of transmitters, that Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) reached the western corner, it said to him, "O Apostle of God! Am I not one of the pillars of the House of your Lord? Why am I not touched?" So the Prophet (ṣ) went near it and said, "Be at rest, peace be on you. You are not forsaken."

To conclude on the Prophet's circumambulation

It is written in *al-Khiṣāl*: Among the things that the Prophet (ṣ) informed ʿAlī (ʿa) was: O ʿAlī! During the pre-Islamic era, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib instituted five customs which God endorsed in Islam… [one of them was the number of rounds for the circumambulation of the Kaʿbah]; the Quraysh did not observe a specific number of rounds for the circumambulation, so ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib instituted seven rounds and God endorsed it in Islam.

Abū-Dāwūd writes in his *Sunan*: Al-Qaʿnabī informs us, from Mālik, from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Nawfal, from ʿUrwah ibn Zubayr, from Zaynab bint Abū-Salamah, from Ummu-Salamah, a wife of the Prophet (ṣ), who said: I complained to the Apostle of God (ṣ) that I was ill, and he said, "Ride a mount and circumambulate from behind the people," so I circumambulated as the Apostle (ṣ) prayed by the House and recited Sūrah al-Ṭūr in his prayer.

Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṣadūq relates that Abān ibn ʿUthmān has said that he had asked Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), "Did the Apostle of God do the circumambulation in a particular way?"

He replied: The Apostle of God (ṣ) used to perform the seven-fold circumambulation ten times: thrice at the beginning of the night, thrice late at night, twice in the morning and twice after noontime, and he used to rest in-between.

However, it should be noted that after his migration to al-Madīnah, it was no longer feasible for the Prophet to maintain that manner of circumambulation of the House, when he made his journeys to Makkah for ʿumrah. After the battle of Ḥunayn, he did not spend the night in Makkah although he entered the city at night; he simply did ʿumrah and returned to Ḥunayn. In the case of ʿumrah of compensation, he stayed for only three days in Makkah, together with the Muslim pilgrims who accompanied him. Surely that would have required freedom from the care of military and political preoccupations, which the Prophet did not enjoy during ʿumrah of compensation, as the Quraysh still held sway over Makkah. Although the Quraysh respected the sanctity of the pilgrim and someone who was a party to a treaty by which they were bound, they would not have hesitated to assassinate the Prophet (ṣ) if they could, in defense of their power and to eradicate Islam and Muslims. Therefore, it was not at all feasible for the Prophet (ṣ) to frequent the Sacred Mosque and do those circumambulations while the polytheists kept watch over the holy precincts.

As for the Farewell Pilgrimage, nothing in the historical and *ḥadīth* sources indicates that the Prophet (ṣ) had done another circumambulation after the first one and before going to ʿArafāt. He had kept his initial *iḥrām* as *qirān* pilgrim, and there are narrations that prohibit *qirān* pilgrim from doing the supererogatory *ṭawāff* before standing at ʿArafāt, and that if they did, they should chant the four-fold *talbiyah* during *ṭawāff*. After the standing at ʿArafāt and the stay in Muzdalifah, the Prophet (ṣ) performed *ṭawāff* only once, and that was on the ʿĪd Day.

It appears that the Prophet (ṣ) did those multiple circumambulations many years before his migration to al-Madīnah, while he was living in Makkah, and not a visitor there.

Ibn ʿAbbās says: As the Prophet (ṣ) went round the Kaʿbah, he passed by a man whose hand was tied to that of another with a belt (or a string or some similar thing). The Prophet (ṣ) cut the belt himself, and said: Lead him by the hand.

In *'Ilal al-Sharā'i'*, Ibn ʿAbbās is reported to have said: As the Prophet (ṣ) and ʿĀ'ishah went round the Kaʿbah together, they touched the Corner and reached the Black Stone. He said to her: O ʿĀ'ishah, had it not been for the impurities of the [people] of the Age of Ignorance, which God has cast over this Stone, it would have been a cure for all ailments, and it would have returned to the original state it was in at the time God sent it down. God will surely restore it to the state it was in the day it was created. It was a bright piece of sapphire that originated from Paradise, but God, the Mighty and Sublime, has effaced its beauty as a result of the sins of the sinners and concealed its real form from the [unjust] rulers and the tyrants, because they do not deserve to see anything that originates from Paradise. Whoever gazes at the real form of a thing that comes from Paradise is entitled to admission therein. The corner [of the Kaʿbah where the black stone is fixed] is *the right Hand* of God on earth, and He will raise it on the Day of Resurrection, having a tongue, a pair of lips and a pair of eyes. Surely God will give it the power of speech on that day, and it will speak with eloquence and testify for whoever had touched it in a suitable manner.

It is probable that the Prophet (ṣ) made that observation during his second circumambulation which he did on the ʿĪd Day because during the first, when there was a large gathering of pilgrims, it could not have been possible for him to have such a talk with one of his wives in isolation, since the men were also going round the Kaʿbah. Moreover, ʿĀ'ishah was having her menses then and therefore, did not go round the Kaʿbah before the standing at ʿArafāt, as we will discuss later.

Did the Prophet move fast round the Ka'bah during the Farewell Pilgrimage?

Sunni sources of *ḥadīth* indicate that the Apostle of God (ṣ) went round the Kaʿbah at a jog during the Farewell Pilgrimage. Jābir's lengthy report reads: When we reached the House together with him he touched the Corner and made three rounds at a jog and four at normal pace.

A similar narration is found in *al-Maghāzī*.

However from the Holy Imams' narrations, we do not find anything which indicates that the Prophet (ṣ) jogged round the Kaʿbah during that pilgrimage, although he did that in ʿumrah of compensation to achieve some objective. *Wasā'il al-Shīʿah* reads: From Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā, from his father, who said: Ibn ʿAbbās was asked whether, as narrated by people, the Apostle of God (ṣ) had ordered the pilgrims to go round the Kaʿbah at a jogging pace, and he replied: They were both right and wrong.

Then he was asked to explain and he said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) entered Makkah for ʿumrah of compensation while its inhabitants were still polytheists, and they had heard that the companions of Muḥammad were weak and exhausted so the Apostle (ṣ) said to his companions, "May God have mercy on he who exhibits sturdiness," and ordered them to expose their upper arms and move fast round the Kaʿbah thrice. The Apostle (ṣ) himself was mounted on his camel with ʿAbdullāh ibn Rawāḥah holding its halter, while the polytheists looked on from the position of the spout. Afterwards he went on pilgrimage and did not move fast round the Kaʿbah or command the people to do so. That is why I said they were both right and wrong.

Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṣadūq relates from his father, from Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Aḥmad ibn Abī-ʿAbdullāh, from Faḍḍāl, from Thaʿlabah, from Zurārah (or Muḥammad ibn Muslim) who said: I asked Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) whether when going round the Kaʿbah one should jog and he replied: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) went to Makkah while the treaty between him and the polytheists, about which you know, was still in force, he ordered the pilgrims to appear sturdy and bare their upper arms. Then he also bared his upper arms and made three circumambulations at a jogging pace. This was to show polytheists that Muslims had not been exhausted. It was because of this that the people moved fast round the Kaʿbah, but I do the circumambulation in a normal walk as ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn used to do.

Also with the same chain of transmission, al-Ṣadūq relates another narration from Thaʿlabah, from Yaʿqūb al-Aḥmar who said: Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: In the expedition of Ḥudaybiyah, the Apostle of God (ṣ) made peace with the people of Makkah, that he would not visit the city for three years. Then, at the end of this period, he entered the city to compensate for the rites he missed before on the day of Ḥudaybiyah. He passed by a group of his companions who were sitting in the courtyard of the Kaʿbah and said, 'There are your people on the top of the hills watching; they should not see any weakness in you.' So they rose, tightened up their loin-clothes, stood akimbo, and then moved fast round the Kaʿbah.

However, the reason given for the spirited circumambulation as expressed in the reports appears to be out of context with regard to the Farewell Pilgrimage, because, after the Commander of the Faithful had announced at the ḥajj season of the previous year, that is 9 A.H., that henceforth no polytheists would be permitted to make the pilgrimage, none of them could have shown up during the Farewell Pilgrimage. I think it is more probable that the fast circumambulations as related in Jābir's report must have been done in ʿumrah of compensation, in which Jābir himself had accompanied

the Prophet (ṣ). He might have inserted this inadvertently into his narrative about the Farewell Pilgrimage, or it may have been inserted by some narrator who did not know the real situation, or could not differentiate between the Farewell Pilgrimage and the ʿumrah of compensation.

Did the Prophet do the circumambulation riding on a mount or walking on foot?

Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration is silent on this matter but Jābir's own, which is related in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* has mentioned it: He went round it fast thrice and walked four times.

Walking, whether at a jogging or normal pace, indicates that he was not mounted.

However, it is related in *al-Kāfī* from Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥakam that ʿAbdullāh ibn Yaḥyā al-Kāhilī has said: I heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying: The Apostle of God (ṣ) did the circumambulation on his she-camel which was called al-Ḥadbā', and he touched the Corners with his staff and then kissed it.

The author of *al-Faqīh* relates Muḥammad ibn Muslim's report in which he said: I heard Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) saying: My father told me that the Apostle of God (ṣ) went round the Kaʿbah riding his mount and touched the Stone with his staff, and he also did the *circuiting* between Ṣafā and Marwah on his mount.

A similar narration is ascribed to Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) in *Daʿā'im al-Islām*. The author of *ʿAwālī al-La'ālī* says: The Prophet (ṣ) made circumambulation riding his mount so that the people could observe his demeanor and good qualities.

Nevertheless, these reports do not imply that he did the first or second circumambulations of the Farewell Pilgrimage or that of ʿumrah of compensation riding a mount. Muslim, Ibn Kathīr and al-Azraqī wrote that the Prophet (ṣ) went round the Kaʿbah during the Farewell Pilgrimage riding his she-camel, because he disliked that the people should be driven back to make way for him.

In the Farewell Pilgrimage, Muslims numbered over a hundred thousand. They had converged on Makkah from all directions: al-Madīnah, Yemen and the desert settlements, and joined the inhabitants of the city, which had been newly conquered. No polytheist remained in Makkah to warrant any fear on the part of the Muslims, that if the Prophet (ṣ) had ridden a mount the former would have considered it sacrilegious, which would have been at the

Muslims' peril. In this large gathering the people were full of the desire to see the Prophet (ṣ) and observe his behavior and actions, and how he would perform the ḥajj rites, therefore, to save himself the difficulties occasioned by the congestion of the people around him, the Prophet (ṣ) had to go round the Kaʿbah riding. Al-Bayhaqī relates that Abū'l-Ṭufayl has said: I saw the Prophet (ṣ) going round the Kaʿbah on a camel and touching the Stone with his staff.

A similar report is related on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās.

The Prophet (ṣ) did the circumambulation twice in the Farewell Pilgrimage; the first, before the standing at the sacred grounds (ʿArafāt and Muzdalifah) and the second, on the Day of Sacrifice, after stoning the ʿAqabah pillar, shaving and slaughtering the sacrificial animal. These two sets of circumambulation have been reported in Jābir's lengthy narration as recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and in that of Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, which is recorded in the works of Imāmiyyah scholars, and no other circumambulation is reported. Thus it may be asked whether the Prophet (ṣ) rode on the first or the second circumambulation or on both. The reports are silent on this question but it can be surmised that he rode during the first but, as to the second, it is not clear whether he mounted or walked on foot.

Al-Fayrūz'ābādī writes in *Sifr al-Saʿādah*: As we have mentioned before, he walked during the circumambulation of arrival, as indicated in Jābir' report: *He did the first three rounds at a jog*, which cannot be imagined for the rider, but for that circumambulation that was among the essential rites of ḥajj, he rode a mount because of some reason.

Two reasons have been given for his riding for the circumambulation, as reported in two narrations in *Sunan Abū-Dāwūd*. The first says: Musaddad informs us, from Khālid ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Yazīd ibn Abī-Ziyād, from ʿIkrimah, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) arrived in Makkah he was ill, so he went round the Kaʿbah riding his she-camel. Whenever he came to the Corner, he touched it with his staff. When he finished his circumambulation he dismounted and prayed two circles of prayer.

The second says: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal informs us, from Yaḥyā, from Ibn Jurayj, from Abū'l-Zubayr who said that he heard Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh saying: In the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Prophet (ṣ) rode his she-camel for the circumambulation and for going between Ṣafā and Marwah, so that he would be elevated above the crowd to enable the people to see him and ask any questions they might have had, for the pilgrims were very many.

From the first narration it is clear that the Prophet (ṣ) was mounted in his first circumambulation since he was indisposed at the time he entered Makkah. The second reason for his riding during the circumambulation was: *so that he would be elevated above the crowd*. This also shows that it was his first circumambulation, which took place on his arrival in Makkah and entering the Sacred Mosque. Some Muslims saw him for the first time and for others, although they had seen him before, this occasion was of special significance because now he had entered Makkah as the conqueror who had defeated the polytheists and shattered their arrogance.

Mingling of men and women at the Ka'bah and other places of assembly

Men and women mingle together at the circumambulation, at the Station of Abraham (ʿa), by the House, and in other important stations: ʿArafāt, Muzdalifah and Minā, and this had been the practice before the advent of Islam down to the present day. The Prophet (ṣ) did not separate the sexes in any of these places; we do not find any report which shows that he did, while many narrations indicate that there is no harm in their mingling when performing the ḥajj rites.

Al-Kulaynī reports from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār who said: I said to Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa), "Can I stand up and pray in Makkah while a woman is sitting or passing by in front of me?" He replied, "It is alright. It is called Bakkah because men and women swarm there."

Al-Ṣadūq relates from Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn al-Walīd, from Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, from ʿAbbās ibn Maʿrūf, from ʿAlī ibn Mahziyār, from Faḍālah, from Abān, from Faḍl who heard Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) saying: Makkah is called Bakkah because men and women swarm there and a woman can pray in front of you, by your right, by your left or together with you and there is no problem with that. This is only disliked in other cities.

In these reports the Imam has shown how Bakkah, one of the names of Makkah, indicates that the mingling of men and women was permissible there: *bakkah* means to swarm at a place, therefore the Sacred Mosque, and in fact the whole city, swarms with men and women during ḥajj season.

Al-Bukhārī relates: Ibn Jurayj said: When Ibn Hishām prohibited women from doing the circumambulation together with men, ʿAṭā said, "How can he prevent them while the wives of Prophet (ṣ) had done the circumambulation along with men?" I (i.e. Ibn Jurayj) asked him whether it was before or after

the promulgation of the law of hijab (mandatory modest dress for women and the restriction on the mingling of the sexes). He said, "I swear that I have witnessed it after the law was promulgated." I said, "How did they mingle with the men?" He said, "They did not mingle with the men. ʿĀ'ishah used to do the circumambulation secluded from the men and on one occasion a woman said to her, ʿCome let us touch [the Black Stone], O Mother of the Faithful,' but she refused and said, ʿYou go.' They used to go out disguised at night and do *ṭawāff* while the men were around the House but they would wait until the men were made to withdraw before they entered.

Commenting on this narration the author of *'Umdat al-Qārī* writes: Ibn Hishām was Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Hishām ibn Maghīrah ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿUmrah ibn Makhzūm. He was the uncle of Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān and the governor of al-Madīnah, as reported by al-Kalbī. He was the brother of Muḥammad ibn Hishām and the two were largely obscure personalities prior to their appointment. It is also said that the Ibn Hishām, who is mentioned in the *aḥādīth* was Muḥammad, the brother of Ibrāhīm; the former became the governor of Makkah and the latter, that of al-Madīnah. Then Caliph Hishām commissioned his son Ibrāhīm to lead the pilgrimage during his reign. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ writes in his [book on] history: In the year 125 A.H., Walīd ibn Yazīd wrote and summoned Yūsuf ibn ʿUmar al-Thaqafī. When al-Thaqafī reported, Walīd handed over to him Khālid ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Qasrī and Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm the two sons of Hishām ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm, the Makhzūmites, and ordered him to kill them so al-Thaqafī tortured them to death. It appears that the one who prevented women from doing the circumambulation with men was the Ibn Hishām who is mentioned in this narration.

Al-Fakīhī narrates that Zā'idah relates from Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī who said: ʿUmar has prohibited the circumambulation of men together with women. He once flogged a man with a whip because he saw him with some women.

Al-Fakīhī added: Ibn ʿUyaynah is reported to have said: The first person to separate men from women for the circumambulation was Khālid ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Qasrī.

However the term *the first* denotes priority, so any person can be considered to be *the first* with regard to a subsequent person, [and it is in this context that al-Fakīhī's statement can be properly understood], because Khālid was governor of Makkah during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān and that was a long time before Ibn Hishām.

In *Sunan Abī-Dāwūd* we read: Al-Qaʿnabī informs us, from Mālik, from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Nawfal, from ʿUrwah ibn Zubayr, from Zaynab bint Abī-Salām who related that ʿĀ'ishah, the Prophet's wife, said: I complained to the Apostle of God (ṣ) that I was ill and he said, "Ride a mount and circumambulate from behind the people." So, I circumambulated, while the Apostle (ṣ) prayed by the House and recited Sūrah al-Ṭūr.

The custom of separating men from women when going round the Kaʿbah is not known to have been enjoined by the Prophet (ṣ) or his pure testamentary legatees, the Imams, and neither Shīʿite nor Sunni *aḥādīth* collections have mentioned it. However historical works mention that some rulers had issued edicts to that effect during their rule. One of them includes Khālid ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Qasrī who was Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān's governor of Makkah for the duration of the latter's reign, that is from 96 to 99 A.H. Al-Masʿūdī says: Khālid heard of these verses of a poet:

How wonderful is the ḥajj season; how wonderful is the mosque of Ka'bah!
How wonderful are the women who compete with us as they scramble to touch the Black Stone!

Khālid said, 'Surely they will never compete with you for it again,' and he ordered that henceforth men and women should do the circumambulation separately.

Quoting al-Fakīhī's account of ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan al-Hāshimī's governorate in the year 256 A.H. during the rule of al-Muhtadī, al-Fāsī writes: ʿAlī was the first person to separate the places where men and women sat in the mosque. On his instructions, ropes were tied to the columns in the mosque around which the women usually sat, and whenever he attended the Sacred Mosque, the women sat behind the cords while the men sat in front of them.

In any case, there is nothing wrong with separating the sexes at the circumambulation even if it was not mandatory because it is a sacred place, a place of making supplications to God in all humility where one should not be distracted by anything and concentrate on communion with Him; the Owner of the Sacred sanctuary, the Creator of the heavens and the earth. Thus it will not be wrong to build platforms and storeys over the area surrounding the Kaʿbah, where the pilgrims walk round it in order to facilitate the separation of men from the women when they perform the circumambulation at the Sacred Mosque.

Praying behind the Station of Abraham

After finishing his circumambulation the Prophet (ṣ) stopped by the Station of Abraham and recited this Qur'ānic text: ʿ*...and take the Station of Abraham a venue of prayer*,' and stood behind the Station, such that it stood between him and the Kaʿbah and prayed two circles of prayer. In the first he recited Sūrah al-Kāfirūn after Sūrah al-Fātiḥah, and in the second Sūrah al-Tawḥīd after Sūrah al-Fātiḥah as indicated by Jābir's narration. In Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), it is said that the Holy Prophet (ṣ) went round the House seven times and prayed two circles of prayer behind the Station of Abraham (ʿa) and returned to the Stone and touched it again.

In al-Ḥalabī's narration, Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) arrived in Makkah, he went round the House and the people did the same. Then he prayed two circles of prayer at the Station of Abraham (ʿa) and touched the Stone.

Abdullāh ibn Sinān also relates from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) that when he did the circumambulation of the House he prayed two circles of prayer behind the Station of Abraham (ʿa).

All Muslim denominations are unanimous that the obligatory prayer of circumambulation must be performed at the Station of Abraham (ʿa).

Shifting the Station of Abraham from its position

Narrations from the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) indicate that Abraham (ʿa) placed the Station adjoining the Kaʿbah, and it remained that way for a long time, until the people of the pre-Islamic Age of Ignorance shifted it to where it is now, detached from the Kaʿbah and facing its side which joins the corner in which the Black Stone is set and the Sham Corner, i.e. the side where the door is situated. It remained in this place until the time the Prophet (ṣ) conquered Makkah and restored the Station to the place where Abraham (ʿa) had placed it, adjoining the venerated House. It remained there for the last two years of the Prophet's life, the rule of Abū-Bakr and the beginning of ʿUmar's rule. Then ʿUmar ibn Khaṭṭāb removed the Station from the spot Abraham (ʿa) and Muḥammad (ṣ) had placed it, and fixed it where it stood during the Days of Ignorance! The following narrations attest to that:

Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṣadūq relates from his father, from Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh from Aḥmad and ʿAlī the sons of Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Faḍḍāl, from ʿAmr ibn Saʿd is al-Madā'inī, from Mūsā ibn Qays the cousin of ʿAmmār ibn Mūsā al-Sābāṭī, from Muṣaddiq ibn Ṣadaqah from ʿAmmār ibn Mūsā who said that

Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) has said (or from Muṣaddiq ibn Ṣadaqah, from ʿAmmār, from Sulaymān ibn Khālid who said that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) has said), When God revealed to Abraham (ʿa) the message: 'Proclaim ḥajj to the people,' he took the stone which had his footprint, which was the ʿstation' (*maqām*) and placed it adjoining the House, adjacent to where it stands today. Then he stood on it and called at the top of his voice, proclaiming what God had ordered him to proclaim. When he spoke the words the stone could not bear them so his feet sank in it, he had to pluck them up from the stone. When the people increased and took to evil things and exposed themselves to tribulations, they congested the spot, so they decided to move it to its present position to make way for the flow of circumambulation of the House. When God Most High commissioned Muḥammad (ṣ) as Apostle, he restored it to where Abraham (ʿa) had erected it in the first place and it remained there to the last days of the Prophet (ṣ), the time of Abū-Bakr's rule and the beginning of ʿUmar's. He said, ʿPeople have crowded over this station. Who among us knows its place during the Age of Ignorance?' A man said to him, 'I have determined its position with a measure.' 'Do you still have the measure?' ʿUmar enquired. 'Yes,' the man replied. 'Bring it,' ʿUmar said. And the man brought the measure [and, using it to mark the place where the *station* had been, ʿUmar] gave instructions that it should be shifted and it was immediately moved to its present position."

In ʿĀṣim ibn Ḥumayd al-Ḥannāṭ's book, Abū-Baṣīr is reported to have said: I heard Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) saying: The Station was in its present location before, but when the Apostle of God (ṣ) took Makkah, he decided to change its place so he moved it to a spot between the Corner and its present location. That was the situation throughout the rest of the Prophet's days, the period of Abū-Bakr's rule and part of ʿUmar's. When the Muslims increased, ʿUmar said that it would distract the people from their circumambulation [so he decided to change its position.] He addressed the people saying, "O people of Makkah, who knows the position where the Station was during the Age of Ignorance?" Muṭṭalib ibn Abī-Wadāʿah al-Sahmī said, "I do, O *Commander of the Faithful*. I used a leather belt to measure its distance and it is now in the custody of my wife." Then he sent someone to her with his ring, and the messenger returned with the measure. Then its position was measured out and ʿUmar restored the *station* to its former place.

Abū'l-Qāsim al-Kūfī writes in *al-Istighāthah*: During the Age of Ignorance the Quraysh removed Abraham's Station from where he had placed it to where it stands today. When the Apostle of God (ṣ) conquered Makkah, he restored it to its original place. [One day] during his rule, ʿUmar asked the

people, “Who knows the spot where the Station stood during the era of Ignorance?” A man said, “I know it and I had measured its distance with a belt which I still have because I know that one day it will be needed.” ʿUmar said, “Bring it.” So he brought ʿUmar the belt and he used it to restore the Station to the place it used to be during the Age of Ignorance, and it is still in the same place.

Al-Kulaynī relates from Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ibrāhīm ibn Abī-Maḥmūd who said: I asked al-Riḍā (ʿa) whether I can offer the two circles of the obligatory prayers of circumambulation behind the Station where it stands now or where it was during the time of the Apostle of God (ṣ)?

He replied: Where it stands presently.

Muḥammad ibn Muslim relates: I asked him (one of the Imams) about the area within which one must do the circumambulation of the House, outside which *ṭawāff* is not considered acceptable. He said: During the time of the Apostle of God (ṣ) the people used to go round the House including the Station, but nowadays you go round the House excluding the Station… [You can do it] anywhere around the House.

Abū-Baṣīr narrated that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: When the Riser (i.e. Imam Mahdī) rises he will demolish the Sacred Mosque and rebuild it on its original foundations. He will also restore the Station to the place it used to be.

Shaykh Ṭūsī relates that Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Maḥbūb reported from Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, from Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Maymūn, from Jaʿfar (ʿa) from his father (al-Bāqir) (ʿa) who said: The Station was adjoining the House, but ʿUmar removed it from there.

Al-Kulaynī writes: From Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, form Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ibn Faḍḍāl, from Ibn Bukayr, from Zurārah who said: I asked Abū-Jaʿfar al-Bāqir (ʿa) if he had met al-Ḥusayn (ʿa), and he answered: Yes… [and mentioned other things, saying] when Abraham (ʿa) erected the Station it was touching the wall of the House and it remained there up to the time when the people of the Age of Ignorance changed its position to the place it is now. When the Prophet (ṣ) conquered Makkah he restored it to where Abraham had placed it and it remained there until the time of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb’s rule, when he asked the people, “Who among you knows the place where the Station once stood?” A man answered, “I had taken its dimensions and the measure is with me.” ʿUmar said, “Bring it to

me." The man brought it and ʿUmar marked the position and returned the Station there.

In his glosses on *al-Wāfī*, al-Shaʿrānī writes: The words: *when Abraham (ʿa) erected the Station it was touching the wall of the House…* to the end of the narration were Zurārah's or some other narrator's, and he mentioned them because of the context, or they might have been said by al-Bāqir (ʿa) himself.

Among the questions Dāwūd al-Ṣarmī asked Imam al-Riḍā (ʿa) was: I asked him which place was the most meritorious for offering the prayers at Makkah and he replied: By the original place of the Station of Abraham (ʿa), for it was the station of Abraham, Ishmael and Muḥammad, may God bless them all.

Al-Kulaynī relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ḥammād ibn ʿĪsā, from Ibrāhīm ibn ʿUthmān, from Sulaym ibn Qays al-Hilālī who said: The Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) addressed the people saying: The caliphs before me have done some deeds that contradicted the way of the Apostle of God (ṣ) intentionally contradicting him, breaking his covenant and changing his precepts (Sunnah). If I were to force the people to leave those things, if I were to restore them to where they were during the time of the Apostle of God (ṣ), my army would have broken up and left me alone or with only a few of my [true] partisans (Shīʿah), who are conversant with my superiority and the duty of following my leadership, as enjoined in the Book of God, the Mighty and Sublime, and in the Sunnah of His Apostle (ṣ). What do you think would happen if I were to instruct that the Station of Abraham (ʿa) should be returned to the spot the Apostle of God (ṣ) had placed it, people would forsake me.

This report shows that the Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) did not approve of removing the Station from its original position to its second place, and this is why he mentioned this action among the things, which, if he were to insist on restoring them to where they were at the time of the Prophet (ṣ), most of the people would have deserted him because of their weak faith and superficial knowledge. In other reports he counted restoring Abraham's Station to its right place among the works to be undertaken by the Riser, the Awaited Imam Mahdī, may God hasten his auspicious reappearance.

In the words of al-Shahīd al-Thānī in *al-Masālik*: In Abraham's time, the Station was in contact with the House, at a spot adjacent to its present position, later, it was moved to its present location. When the Prophet (ṣ) was commissioned, he restored it to the place Abraham (ʿa) had erected it and it remained there until the time the Prophet (ṣ) died, and also throughout

the rule of the first caliph and part of that of the second. Then the second caliph removed it again to the place it now stands.

The relocation of the Station from its former position, where it was in contact with the House, to its present place has been reported in Sunni works as well. Writing on the brief biography of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, al-Suyūṭī says: ʿUmar was the one who removed the Station of Abraham (ʿa) away from the House to its present place while it used to be in contact with the House.

There is a similar report under the entry of the letters *d-y-k* in *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*. About ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Ibn Saʿd writes in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*: He (i.e. ʿUmar) moved the Station away from the House to its present location while it used to be in contact with the House.

Thus, it is amazing that al-Azraqī, the author of *Akhbār Makkah*, should gloss over this fact and simply say that the re-erection of the Station was necessitated by the action of flood which was known as the Deluge of Ummu-Nahshal which happened during ʿUmar's rule. The flood is said to have carried the Station away; it was found in the lower quarters of the city, then it was returned and fastened to the curtains of the Kaʿbah. Al-Azraqī added: Then people wrote to ʿUmar and reported the matter. He went to Makkah in the month of Ramaḍān for the lesser pilgrimage and asked the people to assemble. Then he said, "I adjure by God anyone who has any information with regard to this Station to tell us." On hearing this, Muṭṭalib ibn Abī-Wadāʿah al-Sahmī said, "I know. I used to be apprehensive that this will some day happen to the Station so I measured its distance from the Corner, from the Stone and from Zamzam with a rope which is still in my possession." ʿUmar said, "Remain here with me and send someone to bring it." Then it was brought and ʿUmar stretched it and found that its length reached the spot at which the Station presently stands. Then he consulted the people to have their views on the matter and they confirmed that that was its place. When he became convinced that it was the right place, he gave orders for the Station to be erected there, beginning with laying down a foundation below to keep it in place. It has remained in that position until today.

This narrative did not say anything about moving the Station from its original position to the second place where it now stands. It appears to indicate that the only thing that happened was that al-Sahmī had brought his measure and pointed out the position of the Station prior to the flood and ʿUmar had fixed it on its former place.

In *Shifā' al-Gharām*, al-Fāsī discusses the issue of relocating the Station from its first location to the second, which ʿUmar did, but he did not give a clear view on the matter. First he quoted al-Azraqī's words followed by a quotation from Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī on the authority of Mālik ibn Anas, who is reported in *al-Mudawwanah* to have said: The Station was in its present location during Abraham's time, and it was attached to the Kaʿbah during the Age of Ignorance for fear that floods may wash it away. It remained in that position throughout the time of the Prophet (ṣ) and that of Abū-Bakr, but when ʿUmar became caliph he restored it to its former place after determining the spot by using some old strings that had been used as a measure when it was first removed from the Kaʿbah.

Then he quoted al-Ṭabarī further: This clearly contradicts what al-Azraqī has cited from Ibn Abī-Mulaykah, while Jābir's long sound narration and other such reports support what he (Ibn Abī-Mulaykah) has said, that is: Then the Holy Prophet (ṣ) went further to the Station of Abraham (ʿa) and recited [this Qur'ānic verse], "*...and take the Station of Abraham a venue of prayer...*" and stood behind the Station such that it stood between him and the Kaʿbah.

The first impression one gets from this statement is that the Station was not adjoining the House then, because it is not normally said, "*he stood behind one thing such that it was between him and another*," unless it was possible to stand either in front of it or behind it. Thus, if the Station was adjoining the Kaʿbah, it would always be in front and never behind one who stood facing the Kaʿbah.

Mūsā ibn ʿUqbah (in *al-Maghāzī*), Abū-ʿUrūbah (in *al-Awā'il*) and al-Fakīhī mentioned what Mālik has said that the Station was adjoining the Kaʿbah during the Age of Ignorance. Mūsā ibn ʿUqbah says: They claim that the Station was adjoining the Kaʿbah and later the Apostle of God (ṣ) moved it to its present position. It is said that he did that during the conquest of Makkah.

Abū-ʿUrūbah says: Salamah informs us, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Muʿammar from Ḥumayd al-Aʿraj, from Mujāhid who said: The Station was by the side of the House and the people used to worry that floods may wash it away some day. The people used to pray behind it…

In another place Abū-ʿUrūbah said: Salamah informs us that ʿAbd al-Razzāq has said: Ibn Jurayj said: I heard ʿAṭā and some other scholars saying that ʿUmar was the first to remove the Station and place it in its present location; it used to stand adjoining the Kaʿbah.

On this matter, al-Fakīhī says: ʿAbdullāh ibn Abī-Salamah informed us, from ʿAbd al-Jabbār ibn Saʿīd, form Ibn Abī-Subrah, from Mūsā ibn Saʿīd, from Nawfal ibn Muʿāwiyah al-Dīlī who said: I saw the Station during the time of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib attached to the Kaʿbah like a rock.

The Prophet (ṣ) came to Makkah from al-Madīnah and he used to pray towards the Station which was attached to the Kaʿbah, and this was the practice up to the time the Prophet (ṣ) died.

Al-Fakīhī writes: Zubayr ibn Abī-Bakr said: Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Thawbān informed us, from Sālim, from Ibn Jurayj, from ʿUthmān ibn Abī-Sulaymān, that Saʿīd ibn Jubayr has said: The Station was lying against the Kaʿbah and Abraham (ʿa) only stood on it when the construction work had progressed and he wanted to reach the level of the work. When Muslims grew in number, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb feared that they would tread on it so he removed it to a spot away from the walls of the Kaʿbah. That is where it is now, adjacent to its place adjoining the Kaʿbah.

Al-Fakīhī adds: Yaʿqūb ibn Ḥumayd ibn Kāsib, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Muḥammad, from Hishām ibn ʿUrwah, from his father (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz says he thought it was from ʿĀ'ishah) who said that during the time of the Prophet (ṣ), the Station was near the House.

He added: Some people of Makkah say that there was some space between the Station and the Kaʿbah through which goats used to pass.

Finally al-Fāsī remarked: There are three views with regard to who relocated the Station to its present place [that is in the year 812 A.H.]: one, that it was the Prophet (ṣ) himself, two, that it was ʿUmar, and three, that it was someone else.

This is how inconsistent al-Fāsī's account was. He did not infer anything from the reports and was at a loss as to the position of Abraham's Station during the pre-Islamic era, at the time of the Prophet (ṣ) or during the rule of the caliphs and after them, and did not know who had changed its position from the former place to the present one.

Another report which indicates the inconsistency of some views on this matter, is that cited by al-Shaʿrānī in his glosses on *al-Wāfī*. He writes: In *al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāziyyah*, which is written by one Egyptian, it is said: The Station was in a position adjoining the Noble Kaʿbah during the Age of Ignorance, then it was removed from the House and fixed in its present place after the conquest of Makkah so that no vestige of idolatry should remain. However some people mention the opposite, that during the pre-Islamic era

it was detached from the House, then it was re-adjoined to it after the conquest, then afterwards ʿUmar restored it to where it stood prior to the advent of Islam. God knows best.

Narrations from the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa), as we have seen in previous reports, explicitly say that Abraham's Station was adjoined to the Kaʿbah during his time, then the people of the pre-Islamic era of unbelief changed its position to where it remained up to twenty years after inception of the mission of the Prophet of Islam. When the Prophet (ṣ) conquered Makkah, he relocated the Station to its original place adjoining the Kaʿbah and it was in this situation at the time of the Farewell Pilgrimage, to the time the Prophet (ṣ) died, to Abū-Bakr's, and down to the beginning of ʿUmar's. Then he removed it again to the place where it stood during the Age of Ignorance, and this is where it stands today. The Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) offered the prayer of circumambulation by the Station in its present location and enjoined their followers and partisans to do the same, citing the Qur'ānic verse, "*...and take the Station of Abraham a venue of prayer*." They did not present a different juristic opinion on the matter.

The flood that happened during ʿUmar's rule seems to have destroyed many houses and other buildings in Makkah and wreaked havoc at the Sacred Mosque, including washing away the Station. When the caliph visited Makkah on that occasion, he gave orders for the construction of the Sacred Mosque building and fixed the Station in its present place. Writing about this incident, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī says: During the time of Prophet (ṣ) and Abū-Bakr, it was not surrounded by a wall because the people had encroached on the Kaʿbah and built their houses very close to it. So ʿUmar said, "The Kaʿbah is the house of God and it must have a courtyard. You are the ones who have infringed on it; it did not infringe on you(r houses)." Then he bought those houses and demolished them to expand the courtyard. Some residents refused to sell their houses but he fixed prices which they later received. Then he constructed a wall round the mosque area less than a man's stature in height on which lamps used to be placed later on.

A similar report is mentioned in *Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn* and attributed to al-Azraqī and al-Māwardī.

This happened in the year 17 A.H. Describing the events of that year, Ibn al-Jawzī writes: In that year ʿUmar traveled for ʿumrah and appointed Zayd ibn Thābit to deputize for him in al-Madīnah. He built the Sacred Mosque and expanded it. He spent twenty days in Makkah. Ibrāhīm Rifʿat Pasha also mentioned that this expansion work took place in the seventeenth year.

Concerning Abraham's Station

Commenting on the Qur'ānic words: *and take the Station of Abraham a venue of prayer*, al-Ṭabarsī writes in *Majmʿ al-Bayān*: Ibn ʿAbbās says: All the pilgrimage area is the station of Abraham.

ʿAṭā says: Abraham's Station is ʿArafāt, Muzdalifah and the Pillars.

Ḥasan, Qatādah and al-Suddī say: It (i.e. the Qur'ānic statement) refers to the offering of prayers at the Station of Abraham (ʿa); we have been instructed to offer prayers by it after the circumambulation.

The last view is also reported from al-Ṣādiq (ʿa). When he was asked what is to be done if one circumambulates the House but forgets to offer the two circles of prayer at the Station of Abraham (ʿa), he replied: He should pray them even after the elapse of days. God the Exalted has said, "*And take the Station of Abraham a venue of prayer*."

This view is the obvious interpretation, because when the term *maqām ibrāhīm* is mentioned without any qualification it obviously refers to the Station which is found in the Sacred Mosque. There is a clear sign of the prophethood of Abraham (ʿa) in that relic, because God made the stone on which he stood like clay, and his feet sank into it [and left their mark].

Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī writes (and this is a summary of what he wrote): The Station of Abraham is the whole pilgrimage [area], as related from Ibn ʿAbbās, Mujāhid and ʿAṭā. It also related from Mujāhid that it was ʿArafāt, Muzdalifah and the Pillars, and another report says that he added Minā, while in yet another he said it was the [whole] sacred precincts (al-Ḥaram). Ibn ʿAbbās said: The Station of Abraham (ʿa) is the stone on which he stood when the construction level rose and lifting up the stones became difficult.

Others say that it is the place where it is found in the Sacred Mosque. Another view is that the station was the stone which Ishmael's wife placed beneath Abraham's feet when she washed his head for him while he was mounted. He placed his leg on it and she washed one side of his head but on raising the stone to move it to the other side, she found that his foot had sunk into the stone. Then she placed it beneath Abraham's other foot and washed the other side of his head, and this foot also sank into it. So God made the stone one of the sacraments of His religion and said, "*...and take the Station of Abraham a venue of prayer...*" The more acceptable among these views, in my opinion, is that which says that the Station of Abraham is [the relic] that is known by this name which is situated in the Sacred Mosque. [Then al-Ṭabarī remarked:] These two reports [which he mentioned previously]

indicate that what God the Exalted means by Station of Abraham (ʿa), which He has commanded us to take as a venue of prayer, is the one we have mentioned. Even if our interpretation of the report that came down from the Apostle of God (ṣ) was incorrect, our duty would still have been the same (that is, to consider the relic in the Sacred Mosque which is known by the name *Abraham's Station*) as the place of prayer because, barring the existence of any strong evidence to the contrary, the usual and evident import of any speech is to be regarded as the intended meaning, and not the obscure or the occult. And surely what the people know as *station of Abraham* is the place of offering prayers, about which God the Exalted says: *Take the Station of Abraham a venue of prayer*.

The comments of these two scholars, from Sunni and from Shīʿah sides, are similar; they are derived from the same source and are equally clear in meaning. A good number of Shīʿah reports indicate that what is meant by the Station of Abraham (ʿa) is the stone which bears his footmarks. The narration we mentioned previously about the removal of the Station from its original position to another is one example. Another one is Zurārah's report in which he said: I asked Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) if he had met Ḥusayn (ʿa) and he replied: Yes, I remember [one day] I was with him in the Sacred Mosque when it flooded and the people were standing on the Station. Some people came out and said the flood had taken it away, while others said it was there in its place.

Then he said: What have these people done?

I answered him: May God make you prosper! They fear that the flood might have washed away the Station.

He said: Announce that God has made it a sign and the flood cannot carry it away.

So [I did and] people became reassured.

The eminent jurist Sayyid ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Sabzawārī mentions a number of important remarks with regard to the Station of Abraham (ʿa):

> One: The Station of Abraham (ʿa) is the name of a movable rock which has the imprint of the feet of the Friend of Allah (i.e. Abraham). Only the Black Stone surpasses it in esteem and sacredness. The Mighty Lord has bestowed on the station the honor of bearing the marks of Abraham's feet, which were left on it. He had either stood on it when building the Ancient House; or because when he completed its construction he received the commands of his Lord: *Proclaim ḥajj to*

the people. So, he stood on that rock and called people, "Come for ḥajj;" or when he came there (i.e. Makkah) looking for his son Ishmael (ʿa), the latter's wife placed the stone beneath Abraham's feet and washed his head and this left the mark of his feet on it. All these possibilities have been mentioned in the reports and they might have all been the cause of its sacredness. The *station* also denotes the spot where the rock stands, by way of calling a place by the name of what occupies it, and it is on this basis that the distance between the House and the Station is determined for the circumambulation, and it is the venue of the prayer of circumambulation (as we shall explain later) whether the Station is there or not. It is said that the distance between the Station and the House is twenty-six cubits.

Ibrāhīm ibn Abī-Maḥmūd's report indicates that what is to be considered in determining the distance is not the Station itself but its position. He said: I asked al-Riḍā (ʿa) whether I can offer the two circles of obligatory prayer of circumambulation behind the Station where it is presently or where it used to be during the time of the Apostle of God (ṣ) and he said, "Where it stands now." In the Imam's words, according to Ibn Muslim's report: People used to go round the House and the Station during the time of the Apostle of God (ṣ).

What is meant by *station* is the rock itself, because it was adjoining the House then, while in his words: Today you go round the House passing between it and the Station.

What is meant by the Station is the spot [where it formerly stood], as he said after that: So, the limit [of the place for offering the prayer] is the Station's present location.

Therefore, there is neither doubt nor disagreement on this point either from the texts or from the legal opinions.

Two: It appears from the narrations that the rock which has the footmarks of Abraham (ʿa), which is called *station*, has been removed from its former location. In his sound narration Zurārah quotes Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) as saying: The place of the Station which Abraham (ʿa) fixed was adjoining the wall of the House. It remained there until the people of the Age of Ignorance changed its location to where it stands now. When the Prophet (ṣ) conquered Makkah, he restored it to the spot where Abraham (ʿa) had placed it, and it remained there until ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb became caliph. Then he asked who among the people knew the spot where the Station had been [before the Prophet (ṣ) restored it]. A man said, "I measured its distance with a rope which

is still in my possession." ʿUmar said, "Bring it to me," and he brought it, and ʿUmar relocated the Station to that position.

In *al-Kāfī*, Imam ʿAlī (ʿa) is reported to have said: If I were to give instructions for restoring the Station of Abraham (ʿa) to the place the Apostle of God had fixed it before… people would have deserted me.

Three: There is a place for offering prayers and worship that is designated as Abraham's in each of these places: the mosque of Kūfah, the mosque of al-Sahlah, and in Jerusalem, so it will be very abnormal if there is no such place in the Sacred Mosque. It would not be a strange thing if such a place exists there, because the extreme devotion of the Beloved of God to his Lord surely calls for that. The present *Station* appears to be the place where he used to offer prayers and devotion to God, while the site of his feet was adjoining the House, therefore, he might have had two *stations*; the station of his feet and the prayer station. The two stations were joined together during the Age of Ignorance, but the Apostle of God (ṣ) separated them on account of some benefits. Then later they were joined together again and the immaculate Imams endorse this action for many advantages. Thus the end part of a pilgrim's circumambulation and prayer shall be Abraham's prayer station and not the station of his feet, and on reflection, this is the more appropriate thing. Perhaps the Apostle's concern in separating the two *stations* was to deflect the likely inclination of the common people and the weak-minded to direct their devotion to the relic having Abraham's footprints, instead of devotion to God and reverence to His House, and so that the ʿstation' should not be considered as a separate entity independent of the Sacred House. It should be adjoined to the House and remain as its appendage in the fashion of the relationship between a building tool to the building itself.

Four: The verse: *And take the Station of Abraham a venue of prayer* should be interpreted to transcend the outward physical *station* to its real spiritual position, which is among the loftiest positions. On arrival at the Kaʿbah for ḥajj or ʿumrah or both, the pilgrim should look upon the relic as a thing Abraham (ʿa) had employed in the service of the Sublime Lord, in complete devotion to Him, enduring all forms of hardships in order that His word might be supreme and His sacraments instituted. Let the pilgrim offer his prayers in such submission and humility that will draw him near that spiritual station, just as he has come near that physical one.

Touching the Black Stone a second time after the prayer of circumambulation

After the Prophet (ṣ) had offered the two circles of the prayer of circumambulation, he went and touched the Black Stone a second time, the first being before his circumambulation, as we read in Muʿāwiyah ibn Ammār's lengthy narration and in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*'s version of Jābir's report with little variation. In ʿAbdullāh ibn Sinān's narration from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), the latter said: When the Holy Prophet (ṣ) went round the Kaʿbah, he offered two circles of prayer at the Station of Abraham (ʿa), entered the Zamzam well and drank from its water and said, "O Lord! I beseech You to grant me beneficial knowledge, bountiful provisions and healing for every illness and disease." Then he continued saying this facing the qiblah (the Kaʿbah). Then he said to his companions, "Let touching the Black Stone be the last thing you do by the Kaʿbah," and he touched it and left for Ṣafā…

This narration shows that the second time he touched the Black Stone was after he drank from Zamzam.

Al-Maghāzī writes: Then the Holy Prophet (ṣ) returned to the Corner and touched it. Before that he said to ʿUmar, "You are a strong man, so if the Corner is vacant you can touch it, otherwise do not jostle your way to reach it lest you irritate others and get irritated yourself."

Musnad Aḥmad and *Kanz al-'Ummāl* read: The Prophet said: O ʿUmar, you are a strong man, so do not jostle your way to reach the Stone lest you harm the weak. If you get some vacancy touch it, otherwise face it and say the formula of divine unity (i.e. *lā'ilāha'illā'llāhu*; No deity except God) and glorify the greatness of God (i.e. say *allāhu-akbar*; God is the greatest).

Sunan Ibn Mājah and al-Baghawī's *Sharḥ al-Sunnah* read: The Apostle of God (ṣ) kissed the Stone placing his lips on it and weeping for a long time, and when he turned he saw ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb weeping. He said to him: O ʿUmar, this is the place to shed tears.

The Prophet goes to the Zamzam after circumambulating and praying

Al-Ḥalabī's sound narration quotes Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) as saying: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) arrived in Makkah he went round the Kaʿbah and the people did the same. Then he offered two circles of prayer at the Station of Abraham (ʿa), touched the Black Stone and went to the Zamzam well and drank from it, and said: Had it not been for the fear that I may cause difficulties for my community, I would have drawn out one or two buckets from it.

Al-Kulaynī relates: Form a number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd, from Naḍr ibn Suwayd, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Sinān who narrated that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) talked about the pilgrimage of the Apostle of God (ṣ) and said: …Then, he went round the Kaʿbah, prayed two circles of prayer behind the Station of Abraham (ʿa), went to the Zamzam well and drank from it, and prayed, "O Lord! I beseech You to grant me beneficial knowledge, bountiful provisions and healing for every illness and disease." Then he repeated it facing the Kaʿbah. Then he said to his companions, "Let touching the Black Stone be the last thing you do by the Kaʿbah", and he touched it and left for Ṣafā. He said, "I will start with that which God [mentioned] first."

This narration indicates that the Prophet (ṣ) made this supplication after his first circumambulation, after going to the Zamzam well and drinking from its water.

The Prophet's circuits between Ṣafā and Marwah

After drinking the Zamzam water and touching the Black Stone a second time, the Apostle of God (ṣ) left for Ṣafā and said: I will start with that which God [mentioned] first. God the Exalted has said: *Indeed Ṣafā and Marwah are among God's sacraments*.

Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: The door from which the Apostle of God (ṣ) entered was that which was opposite the Black Stone.

Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's report from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) reads: The Holy Prophet (ṣ) said, "Indeed Ṣafā and Marwah are among God's sacraments and I will start with the one God Almighty started with." Muslims thought that the walking between Ṣafā and Marwah was an innovation introduced by the polytheists, so God the Exalted revealed the verse: *Indeed Ṣafā and Marwah are among God's sacraments, so there is no sin on whoever performs ḥajj or ʿumrah to circuit between them.* Then he went to Ṣafā, climbed it, faced the Yemeni corner [of the Kaʿbah], praised God, commended Him and supplicated for the length of time Sūrah al-Baqarah can be recited with an unhurried recitation. Then he went down and moved to Marwah where he stood as he did on Ṣafā. Then he descended from it and went back to Ṣafā and continued in this way until he finished his circuiting.

Jābir's narration also says something similar: When the Holy Prophet (ṣ) approached Ṣafā he recited: *Indeed Ṣafā and Marwah are among God's sacraments*, and said, "I will start with the one God Almighty started with." So he started by climbing up Ṣafā until he could see the House. Then he

faced the direction of the qiblah, praised God and commended Him in these words: “There is no deity except God Alone, Who has no associate, the dominion and the praise are His, and He has power over all things. There is no deity except God Alone. He has fulfilled His promise, granted victory to His servant and alone defeated the confederates.” Then he supplicated after this [glorification] and repeated it three times. Then he descended and went toward Marwah, walking at a fast pace in the valley and a normal one as he began to ascend. On Marwah he performed the same rites as he did on Ṣafā.

In his *al-Mustadrak*, al-Ḥākim al-Nayshābūrī has mentioned the supplication that is said on Ṣafā as it occurred in other reports, and added that the Prophet (ṣ) also said this prayer: O Lord! We beseech You, grant us the requirements for the attainment of Your grace, Your splendid forgiveness, safety from all sin, bountiful reward for every good deed, attainment of paradise and deliverance from fire.

He also said while moving between Ṣafā and Marwah: My Lord, forgive and show mercy, for You are the Greatest and the most Generous.

The circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah was part of the pilgrimage rites before the advent of Islam. During ʿumrah of compensation, which was performed in the seventh year after Hegira, the Prophet (ṣ) laid down a condition that the Quraysh polytheists should remove their idols that they had placed on Ṣafā and Marwah during the three days which the Prophet (ṣ) and the Muslim pilgrims were to spend in Makkah. Thus Muslims viewed the hills of Ṣafā and Marwah as shrines of idolatry and, to dispel this feeling, God sent down this verse to His Prophet (ṣ): *Indeed Ṣafā and Marwah are among God’s sacraments, so there is no sin on whoever performs ḥajj or ʿumrah to circuit between them. Should anyone do good of his own accord, God is indeed Appreciative, All-Knowing.*

Did the Prophet do the circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah on foot or riding a mount?

Muḥammad ibn Muslim narrates:, I heard Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) saying: The Apostle of God (ṣ) did the circumambulation riding on his she-camel and he touched the Black Stone with his staff and he also did the *circuiting* between Ṣafā and Marwah on his mount.

The author of *al-Maghāzī* narrates that ʿAbdullāh ibn Thaʿlabah said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) circuited between Ṣafā and Marwah riding his camel at the speed he went.

Saʿīd ibn Jubayr also related something similar and added: They said that he ascended Ṣafā and chanted *takbīr* (i.e. saying *allāhu akbar*: God is the greatest) seven times and said: There is no deity except God Alone who has no associate, the dominion and the praise are His, and He has power over all things. He has fulfilled His promise, granted victory to His servant and alone defeated the confederates.

Then he supplicated in between the *takbīr* statements. Then he descended and moved toward Marwah, and when he reached the valley he moved at a fast pace.

Burrah bint Abī-Tajrāt said: When the Prophet reached the course he said, "O people, God has commanded you to move fast [in this place], so do so." He then moved fast.

Jābir's narration in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* reads: Then he descended and moved toward Marwah until his feet trod the middle of the valley then he moved at a fast pace, and when he begun to ascend Marwah he walked until he reached it.

Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā reads: Then he moved between Ṣafā and Marwah riding his she-camel.

The inconsistence in these Sunni narrations is very clear; some say the Prophet (ṣ) did the circuiting riding a mount, others indicate that he walked: then he descended and moved towards Marwah until his feet trod the middle of the valley, then he moved at a fast pace. Some scholars have attempted to get rid of this inconsistency by trying to reconcile the narrations. One of them, al-Fayrūz'ābādī writes: He [started] the circuiting walking: he would move from Ṣafā to Marwah and vice versa, but when the place became very congested he rode his she-camel, and completed his circuiting.

Sending down the command for *tamattuʿ* ʿumrah and ḥajj

During the Age of Ignorance and after the advent of Islam, before the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Arabs were not accustomed to combining ʿumrah and ḥajj in the same journey, nor were they in the habit of performing ʿumrah in the months of ḥajj. In fact, in pre-Islamic times, they used to consider it a mortal sin to perform ʿumrah in those months. A famous saying goes: "When the camels' backs heal, the fur repairs, the month of Ṣafar ends, ʿumrah is allowed." By *camels* they mean those camels on which they have travelled for ḥajj, and *fur* is the fur of those camels.

This is why we said before that the Prophet (ṣ) and his companions commenced their pilgrimage at the *mawāqīt* as ḥajj (and not ḥajj and ʿumrah), as Jābir related: We did not intend anything but ḥajj, we did not know ʿumrah (in this fashion) until we reached the House.

Because doing ʿumrah during ḥajj season was unknown to the Arabs of the pre-Islamic era and Muslims in the beginning, Muslim pilgrims, who accompanied the Prophet (ṣ), simply chanted *talbiyah* at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah to commence ḥajj. Some of them, including the Prophet (ṣ), led along their sacrificial camels, thereby becoming *qirān* pilgrims, while the others, who were the majority, did not take their offerings with them, thus being *ifrād* pilgrims.

After the Prophet (ṣ) and his companions had finished their circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah, Gabriel (ʿa) descended to the Apostle of God (ṣ), who was then standing on Marwah and communicated God's orders, that the latter should inform the Muslims of a new law from Him, and teach them the rites of ḥajj, which shall henceforth remain in force.

In Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's long narration, Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: When the Holy Prophet (ṣ) was on Marwah, after he had finished his circuiting, he faced the people, praised and commended God and said: Here is Gabriel (and he pointed towards the back) commanding me to order all those of you, who have not driven along their sacrificial animals, to conclude the portion of ḥajj you have already performed, as ʿumrah. Had I known beforehand what I know now, I would have done myself what I ask you to do. However, I have already come along with my offering, and it is not becoming of whoever has done that, to leave this state until the offering reaches its [assigned] place.

Then a man among the people said to him, "Shall we go out for ḥajj with dripping heads and hair?"

The Apostle of God replied, "As for you, you will never believe in this."

Then Surāqah ibn Mālik ibn Jaʿsham al-Kinānī said: O Apostle of God, teach us our religion as though we have been created today. Is this command for this year or for the future as well?" The Apostle answered him, "It is forever, to the Day of Resurrection." Then he crossed his fingers and said, "'Umrah has entered ḥajj to the Day of Resurrection."

The Qur'ānic source of this ruling is the verse: *For those who enjoy [release from the restrictions] by virtue of 'umrah until ḥajj, let the offering be such as is feasible. As for someone who cannot afford [the offering], let him fast*

three days during ḥajj and seven when he returns; that is [a period of] complete ten [days]. That is for someone whose family does not dwell by the Holy Mosque.

In al-Ḥalabī's narration, Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: When he finished his circumambulation, the Apostle of God (ṣ) stood on Marwah and addressed the pilgrims, and ordered them to conclude their ḥajj at that point as ʿumrah, as a command from God the Exalted and Sublime, so people obeyed. Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "Had I known beforehand what I know now I would have done myself what I ask you to do," because it was not possible for him to end his state of pilgrim-sanctity because of the offering he had with him. God the Exalted and Sublime says: *And do not shave your heads until the offering reaches its [assigned] place.* Surāqah ibn Mālik ibn Jaʿsham al-Kinānī said, "O Apostle of God, teach us as though we have been created today. Is this command for this year or for all years?" The Prophet (ṣ) replied, "No, it is forever." Then a man stood up and said, "O Apostle of God, shall we go out for ḥajj with dripping heads?" The Apostle replied, "You will never believe in this."

In *Kitāb al-Irshād*, al-Mufīd writes: Among those who opposed the Prophet's order was ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, so he called him and said, "Why are you still in a state of *iḥrām*? Do you have an offering with you?" "No," he replied. "Then why did you not end your *iḥrām* although I have instructed all those who have not driven along their offerings to do so?" "O Apostle of God," ʿUmar returned, "I swear by God that I will not end my *iḥrām* while you maintain yours." Then the Prophet (ṣ) said, "You will not believe it up to the time of your death." This is why he continued denying *tamattuʿ ḥajj*, and one day during his rule, he went up the pulpit and emphasized his prohibition of it, and threatened to punish anyone who dared to perform it.

This order has been related in Sunni sources as well. Jābir's narration says: When he came to the end of his circumambulation at Marwah, he said, "Had I known beforehand what I know now I would not have brought the offering with me, so that I would have changed ḥajj ʿumrah. Those who have not come with their offerings should terminate their state of *iḥrām* and conclude their rites as ʿumrah." Then Surāqah ibn Mālik ibn Jaʿsham al-Kinānī stood up and said, "O Apostle of God, is this command for this year alone or for all time?" The Apostle (ṣ) crossed his fingers and said, "'Umrah has entered into ḥajj (he said it twice) forever and ever."

Despite this unequivocal statement in Jābir's narration, some Sunni reports assert that the law for *tamattuʿ ḥajj* was revealed to the Prophet (ṣ) while he

was on his way from Makkah and he announced it to the pilgrims, but did not oblige them to comply; it was after the circuiting that he emphasized it and requested the people to obey. However, this version of the narration is not found in Shiʿah sources; all Shiʿah narrations about this issue say that the command for *tamattuʿ* was revealed to the Prophet when he was on the mount of Marwah after concluding his circuiting, and it is because of this that he pointed to the rear and indicated the presence of Gabriel who had brought the message.

The Companions were amazed at the command to end *iḥrām* after the circuiting

Muʿāwaiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration says: ʿAlī (ʿa) arrived from Yemen and met the Apostle of God (ṣ) in Makkah. When he entered, he saw his wife having come out of the state of *iḥrām*. There was a sweet smell about the place and Fāṭimah was wearing dyed clothes, so he enquired, "Fāṭimah, what has happened?" "The Apostle of God commanded us to do so," she replied. Then ʿAlī (ʿa) went to the Apostle to learn the reason for that, saying, "O Apostle of God, Fāṭimah has come out of the state of pilgrim-sanctity and put on dyed clothes!" "I am the one who obliged people to do so," he replied.

This incident is related with a slight variation in Jābir's lengthy narration.

In another report, Muslim relates from Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim from Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd, from Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAṭā who said: I heard Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh, may God be pleased with him, saying: When there were only five days before the day of ʿArafāt, the Prophet allowed us to meet our wives. [Some of the companions considered that act as repulsive during the time of pilgrimage and expressed their feelings.] Therefore the Apostle of God (ṣ) stood up and said, "You know that I am more God-fearing, truthful and pious than you are. Had I not led my offering, I would have terminated my *iḥrām* as I asked you to do. Had I known beforehand what I know now, I would not have taken along the sacrificial animals, so terminate your *iḥrām*." And we terminated it, having listened to his orders and obeyed.

On the same question, Muslim relates a narration in which ʿĀ'ishah said: The Apostle of God arrived on the fourth or fifth of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and entered my room in an angry mood. I said to him, "Who made you angry, O Apostle of God? May God put him into Hellfire!" He said, "Are you not aware that I have given the people an order, which they are hesitating to obey? If I had known before what I know now I would not have brought the offering with me, so that I could buy it here. Then I could have terminated my *iḥrām* as they do theirs."

The author of *Kanz al-'Ummāl* relates that Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh said that the Prophet (ṣ) said in this regard: They have accused me, although I am the trustworthy one of all the inhabitants of the heavens and the earth. If I had known before what I know now, the offering would not have been procured, except in Makkah.

In a narration of Ibn Mājah, al-Barā' ibn ʿĀzib says: The Apostle of God and his companions met us on their way and we entered into the caravan for ḥajj. When we reached Makkah he said, "Consider your ḥajj as ʿumrah." People said, "O Apostle of God, we entered into *iḥrām* as ḥajj pilgrims so how can we turn it into ʿumrah?" He replied, "Listen to my commands and comply," but they opposed him, so he became angry. He then left them and went to ʿĀ'ishah's lodging enraged, and when she saw anger in his face and remarked, "Who angered you? May God cause him to be angry!" He said, "Why should I not be angry when I give orders which will not be obeyed?"

Al-Bayhaqī narrates that the Prophet's wife, Ḥafṣah, relates that in the year of the Farewell Pilgrimage he commanded his spouses to terminate their *iḥrām* [before the usual time], whereupon she asked him, "What prevents you from doing the same?" "I have matted my hair and hung the token on my offering, so I cannot terminate my *iḥrām* until I slaughter my offering," he replied.

Pertaining to this issue Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṣadūq relates from his father and Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad al-Walīd, both relate from Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh, from al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī, from Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Minqarī, from Faḍl ibn ʿAyyāḍ who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) about the disagreement of the people concerning ḥajj: Some say that the Apostle of God (ṣ) commenced the pilgrimage as ḥajj, others say as ʿumrah, yet others say he was combining the two?

Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) answered: God the Exalted and Sublime knew that it would be his last pilgrimage, so He combined all those aspects for him in a single journey, so that they will all serve as Sunnah, to be emulated by his community. When he circumambulated the House and circuited between Ṣafā and Marwah, Gabriel (ʿa) commanded him to consider that much ʿumrah, except for those who had brought their offerings with them. As for them, their offerings had barred them from terminating their *iḥrām* in compliance with God's saying: *...until the offering reaches its [assigned] place*. Thus ʿumrah and ḥajj were combined for him [in one journey]. He had commenced the journey the way the Arabs of the pre-Islamic era used to commence their pilgrimage, because they knew of no event [during ḥajj

season] apart from ḥajj. By doing that he was in fact anticipating God's commands, as he was saying: People shall retain the pre-Islamic rites except what Islam changes.

Because people were not accustomed to doing ʿumrah in the months of ḥajj, the companions found it awkward when he said, "Change it to ʿumrah." This order of the Apostle (ṣ) came at a time when he requested them to cancel ḥajj [they had started], saying: ʿUmrah has entered ḥajj for ever (and he crossed his fingers) that is in the months of ḥajj.

The reason behind legislating *tamattuʿ ḥajj* and permitting 'umrah during the ḥajj season

Since ʿumrah and ḥajj are two separate obligations that God has enjoined on believers when He said: *Complete ḥajj and 'umrah for God's sake*, those whose residences are not in the vicinity of the Holy Mosque or the sacred precincts will have to perform ḥajj and ʿumrah like their counterparts who reside near the Holy mosque. God has permitted them to avail themselves of joining ʿumrah with ḥajj. They should start in the months of ḥajj and first do ʿumrah, and, after the circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah, they should come out of the state of *iḥrām* by shaving their heads or clipping the fingernails, after which all the restrictions associated with entering into the state of *iḥrām* will be removed. Thereafter, they will remain free until the time they will enter into *iḥrām* for ḥajj and then go to ʿArafāt, Muzdalifah and Minā. Thus in a single journey one discharges two duties. Perhaps the rationale behind this legislation is that, because God knew that Islam would spread over the world and, out of sheer distance, it would become difficult for Muslims to travel to Makkah twice, for ḥajj and for ʿumrah, the Most High allowed the combining of the two duties in a single journey.

It is reported that Imam ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (ʿa) said: People have been commanded to join ʿumrah to ḥajj as a form of alleviation and mercy from your Lord, that the people may be at ease during the period of their *iḥrām* and that it should not be too long for them, lest some corruption should creep in. Moreover, this will make both ḥajj and ʿumrah maintain their obligatory nature and neither will ʿumrah be deferred and become invalid, nor will ḥajj be separate from ʿumrah, so that there would be a marked distinction between the two.

In this regard, the Prophet performed three *'umrāt* in the Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, which is one of the months of ḥajj, to make it easy for his community whenever they wished to travel to the sacred House of God for ʿumrah pilgrimage. Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: The Apostle of God

(ṣ) went on ʿumrah three times, all of them in the month of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah.

In the story of ʿĀ'ishah, it will be recalled that she was having her period when they reached Makkah, so the Prophet (ṣ) asked her to remain in her state of *iḥrām* and go to ʿArafāt and Muzdalifah and complete ḥajj rites in this *iḥrām*. After that, on the 13th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, he asked her brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abū-Bakr to ride her on his mount to al-Tanʿīm, where she did *talbiyah* for ʿumrah alone, (i.e. a new *iḥrām* for ʿumrah) and returned to Makkah and performed the lone ʿumrah. Ibn ʿAbbās says: By God, the Apostle (ṣ) asked ʿĀ'ishah to perform ʿumrah in Dhu'l-Ḥijjah only to terminate thereby the custom of the idolaters, because that clan of the Quraysh and those who followed their rites used to say: When the fur repairs, the camels' backs heal, the month of Ṣafar ends, ʿumrah is allowed. They used to prohibit ʿumrah until the months of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and Muḥarram passed.

The meaning of the Prophet's words: 'Umrah has entered ḥajj to the Day of Resurrection

Commenting on the Prophet's words: *'Umrah has entered into ḥajj*, al-Nawawī writes: Scholars have differed on its meaning. The most plausible of their views, also the one held by the majority being, that it is permissible to do ʿumrah in the months of ḥajj from now on to the last day, and the purpose is to invalidate the claim of the pre-Islamic era that ʿumrah should not be done in the ḥajj season. Another view is that it signifies that *qirān ḥajj* was allowed; that is to say, the rites of ʿumrah have been inserted into those of ḥajj, and thus will remain forever. Thirdly, some scholars interpret it as indicating that ʿumrah is not an obligatory duty, that is, its insertion into ḥajj means that the obligation to perform it has been cancelled. However, this is weak or even untenable, as the wording of the narration indicates. Fourthly, some literalists (*ahl al-ẓāhir*) hold that it indicates the permissibility of cancelling one's ḥajj and turning it into ʿumrah, but this is also weak.

The first two views concur with the Sunni opinion on this issue, and that is, ʿumrah is permissible in the months of ḥajj and the two duties have intermingled with one another, as if by doing ḥajj, one will have discharged both the obligatory duties and complied with the order of God: *Complete ḥajj and 'umrah for God's sake*.

Al-Nawawī adds: The majority of scholars believe that it is permissible perform ḥajj after starting with ʿumrah, with a few dissenters who say: One *iḥrām* does not enter into another *iḥrām*, as one prayer cannot be inserted into another.

On the meaning of *qirān ḥajj*, according to Sunni opinion, he says that, for the *qirān* pilgrim (i.e. one who joins ḥajj with ʿumrah), one set of circumambulation is sufficient as the essential circumambulation. He performs only the rites of ḥajj and all those of ʿumrah are considered to be subsumed within those of ḥajj. Then he mentioned the differences among Sunni scholars on whether one circumambulation is necessary or two for *qirān* pilgrim.

In fact the meaning of the Prophet's words, *'Umrah has entered ḥajj to the Day of Resurrection*, is that ʿumrah is joined to ḥajj forever. The pilgrim performs the two in the same year one after the other, starting with ʿumrah and then ḥajj, but not vice versa, and it is not allowed to do ʿumrah in one year and ḥajj in another. Thus, there is a close connection between ḥajj and ʿumrah, although they remain two separate duties, and by discharging these duties in this way one will have complied with the command: *Complete ḥajj and 'umrah for God's sake*.

In the statement under discussion, the Prophet (ṣ) did not mean to say that the two obligations had been merged together so that one set of circumambulation and circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah would suffice, as the Sunnis hold, because, basically, religious duties are discharged singly and separately. No merging is allowed except where there is an express provision for that in the sources, such as where one ritual bath suffices for a number of such baths, if one makes the intention for that number. A clear evidence that supports our interpretation of the Prophet's statement, rather the Sunni opinion, is the fact that he informed them of this new law at Marwah, so that the whole address could be regarded as circumstantial evidence which supported the thesis that the expression ʿumrah has entered into ḥajj' establishes a third form of ḥajj, and that is *tamattu'*. We have said before that this form of ḥajj was unknown to the Arabs prior to the coming of Islam and even to Muslims before the Farewell Pilgrimage, and that this was the reason why the companions found it strange to terminate their *iḥrām* as ʿumrah before standing on ʿArafāt and Muzdalifah. They knew only two forms of ḥajj: a ḥajj in which the offering is brought along and a ḥajj in which no offering accompanies the pilgrim, and it was not customary to perform ʿumrah together with ḥajj, neither before it nor after it.

Therefore, *entering* of ʿumrah into ḥajj meant that the former was joined to the latter and the Prophet's speech served to emphasize this third new form of ḥajj, the *tamattu' ḥajj*.

The second caliph proscribes *tamattuʿ ḥajj*

Numerous reports that could, on the whole, be treated as being consecutively transmitted (*mutawātir ijmālī*) have said that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb addressed people and said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) was the same Apostle and the Qur'ān is the same Qur'ān. Surely there were two enjoyments [that were lawful] during the time of the Apostle of God (ṣ), but now I prohibit them, and I will punish whoever indulges in them. One is *mutʿah* marriage (i.e. temporary marriage); if I catch any man who contracts this marriage with a woman I will definitely bury him with stones. The other is *tamattuʿ ḥajj*; separate your ḥajj from your ʿumrah, because that is more fulfilling for your ḥajj and your ʿumrah.

Indeed the permissibility of *tamattuʿ ḥajj* has been decaled in the Book of God in the verse we have quoted before: *For those who enjoy [release from the restrictions] by virtue of ʿumrah until ḥajj, let the offering be such as is feasible. As for someone who cannot afford [the offering], let him fast three days during ḥajj and seven when you return; that is [a period of] complete ten [days]. That is for someone whose family does not dwell by the Holy Mosque.*

In addition, a large number of *aḥādīth* have been cited in the commentary on this verse by both Sunnis and Shīʿites. As we have said, because of the novel nature of this form of ḥajj, the companions of the Prophet (ṣ) considered it strange. Coupled with other factors, this unfamiliar situation prepared the grounds for ʿUmar's proscription of this form of ḥajj.

Al-Aswad ibn Yazīd says: I was standing with ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in the plain of ʿArafāt in the evening of the day of ʿArafāt when a man appeared with his hair hanging loose and the smell of scent about him. ʿUmar asked him whether he was *muḥrim* and he answered in the affirmative. "Your demeanor is not that of *muḥrim*; *muḥrim* is disheveled, dusty and reeking," ʿUmar continued. "I arrived [Makkah] as *tamattuʿ* pilgrim with my wife, and I have entered into [another] *iḥrām* only today," the man said. At that point ʿUmar ordered, "Do not undertake *tamattuʿ* pilgrimage in these days, for if I were to allow the people to do it they will sleep with their women in couches, and come along with them in the evening as pilgrims."

Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd writes in his commentary on *Nahj al-Balāghah*: In his narration, ʿUmar said concerning *tamattuʿ ḥajj*: I know that the Apostle of God (ṣ) and his companions have done it but I dislike that pilgrims should stay with their women in couches and thereafter begin chanting *talbiyah* for the commencement of ḥajj as their heads drip with water.

Al-Amīnī records the previous story in *al-Ghadīr*, with the additional comment: At that point, ʿUmar prohibited *tamattuʿ ḥajj*: "Then, by God, if I allow this *tamattuʿ ḥajj*, you will sleep with them in couches even at ʿArafāt, and commence ḥajj in the evening."

Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab relates: ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb prohibited *tamattuʿ*, that is, doing ʿumrah in the months of ḥajj, saying: I have done it together with the Apostle of God (ṣ) but I am forbidding it [now] because pilgrims would come for ʿumrah in the months of ḥajj from a distant place disheveled, dusty and exhausted but all his untidiness, fatigue and *talbiyah* would be for his ʿumrah [alone]: he would do the circumambulation of the House, quit *iḥrām*, apply scent and meet his wife, if she is accompanying him. Then on the Day of Tarwiyah he will enter into *iḥrām* for ḥajj and go to Minā chanting *talbiyah* for a ḥajj that is devoid of untidiness and exhaustion and only with a day's *talbiyah*, although ḥajj is superior to ʿumrah. If we are to allow the people to continue with this practice they will hug them (i.e. their wives) on couches.

Those events, coupled with the fact that this type of ḥajj was unknown to people before the Farewell Pilgrimage, were the reasons why ʿUmar proscribed *tamattuʿ ḥajj*, which took place around the middle of his rule and was announced during ḥajj season. This prohibition continued to the time of ʿUthmān's rule, when prominent companions of the Prophet (ṣ) opposed it. Some reports show that when ʿUmar tried to impose the prohibition, he met with stiff opposition from some companions, among them was Ubayy ibn Kaʿb who said to him, "You do not have that power. *Tamattuʿ ḥajj* has been mentioned in the Book of God and we have preformed it with the Apostle of God (ṣ)." The Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) was another. Al-Ṭūsī in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* and *Al-Istibṣār* records a narration from Mūsā ibn al-Qāsim, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Ḥammād, from al-Ḥalabī who relates that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: ʿUthmān [ibn ʿAffān] had set out for ḥajj, and on reaching al-Abwā', he ordered his announcer to inform people that they should perform ḥajj and leave out ʿumrah. The announcer did so and when he passed by Miqdād ibn al-Aswad, he told him, "By God, you will surely meet someone by the camels who will oppose what you say." ʿAlī (ʿa) was busy feeding his mounts leaf mash and cornmeal when the man reached his place. When he heard the announcement he immediately went to ʿUthmān and said to him, "Why are you asking people to do this?" "It is a decision I make," ʿUthmān replied. ʿAlī said, "By God, you have ordered what is opposed to the Apostle of God's decision," and he went away raising his voice and saying, "At Your service! To perform both

ḥajj and ʿumrah together! At Your service!" Later on, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam would often say, "As if I am now seeing the whiteness of the cornmeal and the green color of the leaves on his forearms."

With slight differences, this narration is reported in *al-Muwaṭṭa*' through Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa) from his father (ʿa); al-Bukhārī, through Saʿīd ibn Musayyib; by both al-Bukhārī and Muslim, through Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam; and by al-Nasā'ī and Muslim, through other narrators.

What is meant by *joining* (*qirān*), as mentioned in these narrations, is the literal meaning of the word which comprises of *tamattuʿ ḥajj* that includes ʿumrah. It is not the connotation of *qirān ḥajj* as understood by the Imāmiyyah Shīʿah (which is the *ifrād ḥajj* when the pilgrim drives his offering along with him), and not as understood by Sunnis, that is the fusion of ḥajj and ʿumrah so that a single rite suffices the two.

Umar's son, ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿUmar, also opposed his father's edict. When he was asked about *tamattuʿ ḥajj*, ʿAbdullāh said it was permissible. The questioner reminded him that his father had prohibited it. Ibn ʿUmar retorted: If my father had prohibited it but the Apostle of God (ṣ) had ordered the people to do it, do I obey my father or the Apostle of God?

Then the man said, "The Apostle of God," and ʿAbdullāh said, "[Know that] the Apostle of God has done it." Sālim relates the same incident with, "Get away from me!"

Ibn ʿAbbās was among those who resisted ʿUmar's edict. When someone opposed his view on *tamattuʿ ḥajj* and supported the stand of Abū-Bakr and ʿUthmān, Ibn ʿAbbās retorted: Stones will soon be rained on you! I am saying God's Apostle (ṣ) has said it, and you are saying Abū-Bakr and ʿUmar?

To expose this illegal prohibition and defend God's law, the Holy Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) always emphasized the necessity of keeping to *tamattuʿ ḥajj*, without concealing this from any of the Sunni rulers or jurists or the general Sunni public. In this regard, Abū-Baṣīr narrates that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said to him one day: Abū-Muḥammad, a group of my followers from the people of al-Baṣrah were with me, and they asked me about ḥajj, and I informed them how the Apostle of God (ṣ) performed it and what he ordered the people to do. They said that ʿUmar had turned ḥajj into *ifrād*. I told them that this was ʿUmar's personal opinion and that his opinion was not in keeping with what the Apostle (ṣ) had done.

Muḥammad ibn Faḍl al-Hāshimī says: I went to Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) with my sister and said to him that we now intend to go on pilgrimage and one of us is going for the first time. The Imam said, "I am directing you to do *tamattu.*" Then he added, "We do not dissimulate in the face of anybody with respect to *tamattuʿ ḥajj*, abstinence from wine and wiping on the socks [for the ritual ablutions]."

These bold steps, taken by some companions of the Prophet (ṣ) and the Holy Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) in defending and preserving this law of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet (ṣ), caused ʿUmar's prohibition of *tamattuʿ ḥajj* to be short lived, and as a result, the jurists of all schools of Islamic jurisprudence considered *tamattuʿ* as a form of ḥajj just like the other two types. Al-Jazrī writes in *al-Fiqh ʿalā al-Madhāhib al-Arbaʿah*: He who intends to undertake ʿumrah and ḥajj is allowed to enter into *iḥrām* through any one of three ways:-first: *ifrād*, second: *qirān*, and third: *tamattuʿ*, in which the pilgrim starts with ʿumrah and then perform ḥajj in the same year.

However, the majority of Muslims have accepted the proscription of the other which ʿUmar banned together with *tamattuʿ ḥajj*, that is, *mutʿah* marriage, leaving only the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) and their followers, the Shīʿah, as the only bulwark against the abolition of this law of God and Sunnah of the Prophet; they defended the permissibility and legitimacy of this form of marriage from the first Islamic century up to the present time. Imam ʿAlī, the Commander of the Faithful, is reported to have said: Had ʿUmar not forbidden temporary marriage, no one would have committed fornication except a scoundrel.

According to other reports or other versions of the same report, Imam ʿAlī (ʿa) said *except a few people* instead of *except a scoundrel*.

Trying to justify ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's prohibition before it gained acceptance among people, al-Māzirī writes: Scholars have differed concerning ʿUmar's prohibition in the case of ḥajj: some say that it was a cancellation of ḥajj to turn it into ʿumrah, others say it was ʿumrah that is done in the months of ḥajj, which is followed by ḥajj in the same year. Therefore, the prohibition was a form of encouragement for people to do *ifrād* type of ḥajj which is more meritorious, not that he believed in the invalidity of *tamattuʿ*… The preferred view is, that what ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and the others meant by forbidding *tamattuʿ*, which is understood as doing ʿumrah in the months of ḥajj followed by ḥajj in the same year, was advocating for a more meritorious deed and that is *ifrād ḥajj*. And thereafter, jurists have reached a consensus on the permissibility of *ifrād*, *tamattuʿ* and

qirān, without any legal dislike (*karāhah*) [for the *tamattu'*].

The legal opinion of the Imāmiyyah Shīʿah on this question is this: Those who reside far from Makkah should perform *tamattu' ḥajj* as the essential ḥajj, which is one of the pillars of Islam (*ḥijjat al-Islām*), except where one is forced by circumstances to do otherwise. For supererogatory ḥajj they may choose any of the three types. Those who live in Makkah or within a radius of less than twelve miles must do *ifrād* or *qirān* for their essential ḥajj, and *tamattu'* is not acceptable in their case. However, they may choose any of the three for supererogatory ḥajj.

The author of *Sharā'i' al-Islām* summarizes the law pertaining to the three types of ḥajj:

> There are three types of ḥajj: *tamattu '*, *qirān* and *ifrād*. *Tamattu'* is the duty of those who reside twelve (some say forty-eight) miles or more away from Makkah, from all directions. Should these people voluntarily change to *qirān* or *ifrād* in the case of the essential ḥajj, their ḥajj is unacceptable, but is permissible if they are forced by circumstances. *Ifrad* and *qirān* are for those who live in Makkah or within a distance of twelve miles from all directions. Their ḥajj will be acceptable if they are forced to do *tamattu'*, but if they choose it on their own accord, there are two views as to their ḥajj's acceptance; some scholars hold that it is acceptable, but a majority of them say it is not.

The origin of this juristic opinion is in fact the Qur'ān, where God Almighty says: *For those who enjoy [release from the restrictions] by virtue of 'umrah until ḥajj, let the offering be such as is feasible… That is for someone whose family does not dwell by the Holy Mosque.* Although the speech in this verse is in the indicative mood, it is in reality an imperative that is intended as a piece of legislation. It denotes a definitive law, and that is why the Prophet (ṣ) insisted at Marwah that the pilgrims should quit their *iḥrām* after they had completed the circuiting between the two hills, Ṣafā and Marwah. The language that is employed in this verse is similar to that which mentions the duty to be discharged at Ṣafā and Marwah, in which God the Exalted said: *Indeed Ṣafā and Marwah are among God's sacraments, so there is no sin on whoever performs ḥajj or 'umrah to circuit between them*, or concerning the shortening of prayers while one is traveling: *When you journey in the land there is no sin upon you in shortening the prayers*. In all these cases, it is their meanings that are taken into account and they are regarded as conveying a definitive obligation and not an optional demand in which there

is permission for non-compliance. God wants us to avail ourselves of such permissions.

Concerning the meaning of *dwell by the Holy Mosque* and those who do not, the Immaculate Imams (ʿa) have talked about it in a number of narrations, some of which are the following:
Al-Ṭūsī relates in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* a narration by ʿAlī ibn al-Sindī, from Ḥammād, from Ḥurayz, from Zurārah, who said: I asked him (i.e. Abū-Jaʿfar) about God's saying: *That is for someone whose family does not dwell by the Holy Mosque*, and he replied: This means the people of Makkah; they may not do *tamattuʿ ḥajj* and ʿumrah is not obligatory on them.
Then I asked him the limits of that and he said: Forty-eight miles from all districts of Makkah except ʿAsfān and Dhāt ʿIrq.
Jurists have explained that *forty-eight miles* means twelve miles from every direction; the sum total of the distance from all directions will be forty-eight miles.

The author of *al-Kāfī* relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ḥammād ibn ʿĪsā, from Ḥarīz who reported that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) has commented on God's words: *That is for someone whose family does not dwell by the Holy Mosque*, saying: He whose house is at a distance of eighteen miles to the front of it (i.e. the Mosque), or at an equal distance to the rear, or to the right or to the left of it, such as Marr and the like, may not undertake *tamattuʿ ḥajj*.

The Prophet drapes the Ka'bah

Al-Wāqidī relates that ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib has reported that the Apostle of God (ṣ) draped the Kaʿbah with Yemeni cloth during his pilgrimage. On this issue, al-Masʿūdī says: It is reported that he draped the Kaʿbah during his pilgrimage. Al-Azraqī notes that the Prophet (ṣ) covered the Kaʿbah with Yemeni cloth. Al-Fāsī quoted him in *Shifāʾ al-Gharām*.

Qurb al-Isnād: Al-Sindī ibn Muḥammad has related from Abū'l-Bukhtarī, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), from his father Imam Muḥammad Bāqir (ʿa) who said that the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī (ʿa) used to send the covering of the Kaʿbah every year from Iraq.

In his account of the dispatching of the covering of the Kaʿbah to Makkah by rulers and governors, al-Azraqī, the author of *Akhbār Makkah*, did not mention the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa), among those who had done so. Al-Fāsī infers from this omission that ʿAlī (ʿa) did not send any drapes for the Kaʿbah when he was the caliph. He says: I did

not come across anything explicit which shows that he had prepared a covering for it; perhaps he was preoccupied with the wars against the Kharijites in defense of religion.

However, as the Arabic maxim goes, lack of mention of a thing, or failure to discover it, does not necessarily indicate its non-existence.

Admonition to the maintainers of the House on how to treat the pilgrims

Al-Kulaynī writes: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Rifāʿah who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) whether someone who does the obligatory circumambulation after the afternoon prayer can offer the two circles of prayer on finishing the circumambulation. He replied: Yes. Did you not hear what the Apostle of God (ṣ) said to the Family of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib: Do not prevent the people from praying after the afternoon prayer, lest you thereby hinder them from doing the circumambulation?

It should be noted that Rifāʿah had asked the Imam because, in the Islamic Law, it is discommended (*makrūh*) to offer prayers after the afternoon prayer and before the sunset prayer, and by this declaration, the Prophet (ṣ) had made the prayer of circumambulation an exception to this rule.

In another narration, the Prophet (ṣ) says: Tell the inhabitants of Makkah and her environs to allow the pilgrims ample way for the circumambulation, the Black Stone, the Station of Abraham and the front row [of prayers] for the last twenty days of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah and up to the day they set out for the homeward journey.

The Prophet feeds the pilgrims

In this pilgrimage the Prophet (ṣ) personally participated in feeding the pilgrims, as recorded in *Itḥāf al-Warā*: The Prophet (ṣ) stayed in Makkah in a state of *iḥrām*… and he fed the pilgrims as the Quraysh clan used to do.

A similar narration is mentioned in *Durar al-Farā'id al-Munaẓẓamah*.

Participation of women and children in the pilgrimage

The *ḥadīth* literature has mentioned that among the pilgrims who accompanied the Prophet (ṣ) were women and children. Al-Masʿūdī says: The Apostle of God (ṣ) had taken his wives and his daughter Fāṭimah (ʿa) for the pilgrimage.

Muḥammad ibn Saʿd writes: He went with all his spouses and they rode in

camel litters.

Ibn Kathīr says: They (i.e. the Prophet's wives) were nine, and all of them accompanied him.

Abū-Hurayrah said: They all used to travel except Zaynab and Sawdah, who would say: We will not be shaken by any animal again after what we have heard from the Apostle of God (ṣ).

We mentioned that ʿAlī (ʿa) came from Yemen and found his wife, the daughter of the Prophet (ṣ), with dyed clothes and perfume, on which account he requested a clarification. This shows that the Prophet's wives and his daughter Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' (ʿa) performed *tamattuʿ ʿumrah* first, and later entered into *iḥrām* for *tamattuʿ ḥajj*.

In *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, a narration by Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī reads: We set out with the Apostle of God (ṣ) starting ḥajj and there were women and children travelling for ḥajj with us.

Similarly, Ibn Abī-Shaybah relates that Jābir said: We went on pilgrimage with the Apostle of God (ṣ), and women and children were among us. We did the chanting of *talbiyah* and stoning of the pillars for them.

Imam Muḥammad Bāqir [or Imam al-Ṣādiq] (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) went out for ḥajj and on the way he saw a woman walking between camels. When he asked who that woman was, people answered that she was sister of ʿUqbah ibn ʿĀmir, and that she had vowed to God to walk to Makkah unshod. On hearing this, the Apostle of God said to her brother, "Go and instruct your sister to ride, for God is needless of her walking and her being unshod." So she mounted.

This demonstrates the zeal that women of strong faith showed for accompanying the Great Prophet (ṣ) on this pilgrimage; they were even ready to cover this long journey without footwear. In another narration which is mentioned previously, it is reported that the Prophet (ṣ) urged Ḍubāʿah bint Zubayr ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the wife of al-Miqdād ibn al-Aswad, who was sick, to travel for the pilgrimage. He asked her, "Do you intend to go for ḥajj?" She replied, "By God, I am sick." He said to her, "Go ahead and do it, but [make the intention] with a condition, and say: O Lord, I will cut short my pilgrimage whenever my sickness stops me from going further." On his return from the pilgrimage, the Prophet (ṣ) asked Ummu-Maʿqal why she did not go for ḥajj, and on hearing her excuse, promised her ʿumrah in the month of Ramaḍān. The incident of Asmā' bint ʿUmays' giving birth at Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, discussed at length before, was another

indication of the enthusiasm the women had for accompanying the Prophet (ṣ). This happened before his eyes, but he did not prevent her from continuing with the journey, he simply explained to her the law, as it pertained to her *iḥrām* and the rites, when she asked for his guidance.

What indicates that children had taken part in the pilgrimage is *Kanz al-'Ummāl* report that Ṭirimmāḥ said: I heard Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī saying: We did the circumambulation together with the Prophet (ṣ) and it rained. He said, "Start your [religious] deeds anew, for you have been forgiven whatever has passed." This narration shows that six year old Ḥusayn was in the company of his grandfather, his father and his mother for the Farewell Pilgrimage; it can be safely inferred that his brother, Ḥasan, was also with them, because the two were always together. Moreover, their father, mother and grandfather had travelled for that pilgrimage and none of them had stayed behind in al-Madīnah to take care of Ḥasan, if he had not been with them.

'Alī dispatched to Yemen, from where he joined the Prophet in Makkah

In the tenth year of Hegira the Apostle of God (ṣ) sent Abū-Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and Muʿādh ibn Jabal to Yemen, each man to one of the regions of that country. While dispatching them he enjoined, "Make things easy and do not make them difficult; give glad tidings and do not estrange the people." Later he sent Khālid ibn al-Walīd there at the head of a group of Muslims as missionaries. Khālid stayed in Yemen for six months inviting the people to Islam but not a soul embraced the new religion, so the Prophet (ṣ) was displeased. Then he sent the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa), to Yemen to invite its people to Islam and teach the law. He was to send Khālid ibn Walīd back, and take over the khums from him and receive the jizyah tax from the Christians of Najrān.

Al-Kāfī: ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from al-Nawfalī, from al-Sakūnī, who said that he heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) saying: The Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) sent me to Yemen and instructed me, "Never fight anyone unless you invite him [to Islam]. By God, God should guide one man through your effort is better for you than all [the things] over which the sun arises and sets. And you have the guardianship over him."

Shaykh al-Ṭūsī relates: From a number of narrators, from Abū'l-Mufaḍḍal, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Sulaymān ibn Ghālib al-Azdī, from Faḍl ibn Mufaḍḍal ibn Qays ibn Rummānah al-Ashʿarī (who related this in the year 254 A.H., in which he died), from Imam Riḍā (ʿa), from his father, from

Imam Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad, from his father, from his fathers (ʿa) who have related that the Apostle of God (ṣ) dispatched ʿAlī (ʿa) to Yemen and instructed him, "I instruct you to keep up supplication because granting of requests is associated with it, and to be always grateful because it is associated with increase [of bounties]. I forbid you from breaking a promise or changing it, and I forbid you from making evil schemes, for evil schemes beset only their authors. I forbid you from injustice, for he who is treated unjustly God will surely support him."

Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt: Aḥmad ibn Mūsā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad who was known as Bighazal, from Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Jurjānī, who ascribed the narration to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Salmānī, who said that the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa), said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) summoned me and sent me to Yemen on a peace-making mission and I said to him, "O Apostle of God, they are in great numbers and I am only a young man." He said, "O ʿAlī, when you reach the uppermost part of ʿAqabat Fīq highland, call out at the top of your voice: O tree! O clod! O earth! Muḥammad the Apostle of God is greeting you." I set out and when I reached the peak of ʿAqabat Fīq from which Yemen could be seen, I saw that their forces were all approaching me, brandishing their weapons; the points of their spears showing and their bows swerving from one side to the other. Then I called out at the top of my voice, "O tree! O clod! O earth! Muḥammad greets you!" All the trees, clods and the soil responded with one voice: "Greetings to Muḥammad, the Apostle of God, and to you!" This sent my adversaries trembling with fear and their weapons fell from their hands, so they came fast towards me and I settled their dispute and went away.

Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) sent ʿAlī (ʿa) to Yemen and instructed him to send Khālid and his party back, but added that he should allow any member of Khālid's group to join him if they so wished. Al-Barā' said: I was one of those who went back with ʿAlī. When we reached the outlying districts of Yemen and the people heard the news of our arrival, they gathered around him and he led us in the dawn prayer. After the prayer, he addressed us, after offering praise and commendation to God, and then read out the Apostle of God's message to the people, and the whole tribe of Hamdān embraced Islam in one day. The Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) wrote and informed the Prophet (ṣ) about this. When he read the letter he was pleased and delighted and he prostrated to God in gratitude, and when he raised his head from the ground he said, "Peace be on the people of Hamdān, peace be on the people of Hamdān." After the conversion of the tribe of Hamdān other Yemenis followed suit in quick succession.

When the Apostle of God (ṣ) intended to set out for the pilgrimage, he wrote the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ), informed him about the journey and requested him to meet him in Makkah, together with his companions, who were with him in Yemen. Therefore, the Imam set off with his friends and army, and some new converts towards Makkah. When they were near the city, he appointed someone to take charge as leader, and he himself hastened ahead of them and found that the Apostle of God (ṣ) has almost reached Makkah. When they met, the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) saluted the Apostle (ṣ) and told him what he had done and what he had acquired, and that he had left his army behind in his haste to meet him. The Apostle of God (ṣ) was very happy with this news and with the reunion. He asked him, "O ʿAlī, what did you intend when you commenced your pilgrimage?" He replied, "O Apostle of God, in your letter you did not indicate what you intended and we did not know it. Therefore, I tied my intention to yours and said: O God, I start my pilgrimage with the intention like that of Your Prophet (ṣ). And I have driven along thirty-four camels as offering." The Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "God is great! And I have come with sixty-six. You are my partner in my pilgrimage, my rites and my offering. Keep your *iḥrām* and return to your army and lead them to me quickly, so that we may reunite at Makkah, God willing." With this, the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) bade him farewell and returned to his soldiers, who had by then put on the garments [that were part of the acquisitions] which they were carrying. He disapproved of that and said to the man he had appointed to deputize for him, "Why did you give them the garments before we had presented them to the Apostle of God (ṣ) and without my permission?" He said, "They requested to adorn themselves with them and enter into *iḥrām* and later return them." He then took them back, tied them up and returned them to the luggage and, as a result, these people developed a resentment against him, and when they arrived in Makkah they complained to the Apostle of God (ṣ). The Prophet asked his announcer to call out and say, "Stop criticizing ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib. He is strict concerning God Almighty, never compromising with regard to His religion." So people refrained from finding fault with him and realized his closeness to the Prophet (ṣ), and his displeasure with anyone who would dare disparage ʿAlī (ʿa). The Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) kept to his initial *iḥrām* following the footsteps of the Prophet (ṣ), while the majority of the pilgrims had set out for the ḥajj without sacrificial animals.

Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār has also narrated the above. A similar report is found in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk*.

Al-Kulaynī relates: From a number of our companions, from Sahl ibn Ziyād, from Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Shamʿūn, from ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Aṣamm, from Musmaʿ ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: Some people in Yemen made a pit to trap a lion and it fell inside and the people scrambled to watch it but a man fell over into the pit. The man held on to another and the second to a third and the third to a fourth and all of them fell into the pit and the lion attacked them. Some of them died instantly, while others died after they were taken out. This caused a conflict [between the clans] that led to the drawing of swords, so the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) summoned them to adjudicate between them. His decision was that, on account of the first man falling into the pit a quarter of the amount of compensation should be paid, a third for the second, a half for the third and the full amount for the fourth, and he imposed their disbursement on the clans of the people who had scrambled by the pit. Some of the people were happy with the judgment but others were not, so the case was re presented before the Prophet (ṣ). He was informed of the Commander of the Faithful's decision and he endorsed it.

A similar report is mentioned in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal also records this story in *al-Musnad* in ʿAlī's words, who he added [after mentioning his judgment on the dispute]: They were not contented, so they went to the Apostle of God (ṣ) and met him at the Station of Abraham (ʿa) and related what had happened. He said, "I will judge between you." A man among them said, "ʿAlī has judged between us," and they conveyed the decision. Then the Apostle endorsed that decision.

Did the Prophet enter the Ka'bah during the Farewell Pilgrimage?

Al-Kāfī and *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*: Ismāʿīl ibn Hammām reports: Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa) said that the Prophet (ṣ) entered the Kaʿbah and offered prayers in all its four corners: two circles at each.

Al-Kāfī: Ḥusayn ibn Abī'l-ʿAlā' said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) about praying in the Kaʿbah, and he replied: Stand [for the prayer] between the two pillars on the red stone slab, because the Apostle of God (ṣ) prayed on it and then faced each of the walls of the House and say *takbīr*.

Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām: Yaʿqūb, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Hishām ibn Halam, who relates that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) went inside the Kaʿbah only once, and on the occasion he spread his garment and stood on it after removing his shoes.

This shows that the Prophet (ṣ) entered the Kaʿbah, but it is not clear whether he did so during the Farewell Pilgrimage, his ʿumrah or before he migrated from Makkah. A number reports indicate that this took place during the Conquest of Makkah.

Al-Kāfī: ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm relates from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Faḍl ibn Shādhān, from Ṣafwān (and another line: from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār) who says that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: When you want to enter the Kaʿbah you should first have a bath… The Apostle of God (ṣ) did not enter it except on the day of the Conquest of Makkah.

Al-Ṭūsī relates this narration from Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd, from Faḍḍāl ibn Ayyūb and Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, both from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa). In another narration al-Ṭūsī relates from Ḥusayn ibn Sa ʿid, from Faḍḍāl ibn Ayyūb both from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: Do not pray the prescribed daily prayers in the Kaʿbah because the Prophet (ṣ) did not enter it in ḥajj or in ʿumrah; he only entered it during the Conquest of Makkah, and he prayed two circles between the two pillars while Usāmah ibn Zayd was with him.

The author of *Biḥār al-Anwār* records something similar, quoting *Fiqh al-Riḍā*, on the authority of Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa).

However, recounting the story of the Farewell Pilgrimage, al-Wāqidī asserts that ʿĀ'ishah related that after putting up at al-Abṭuḥ and before proceeding to ʿArafāt: The Apostle of God (ṣ) entered my apartment in a sad mood and I asked him, “What is wrong, O Apostle of God?” He said, “Today I have done something that I am now regretting! I went inside the House, but perhaps a man from my community may not be able to enter it, so he might harbor some ill feeling. We have been commanded to go round the House and not to enter it.

Al-Bayhaqī records a similar version of this narration on the authority of ʿĀ'ishah. In his *Sunan*, Abū-Dāwūd relates from Musaddad, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Dāwūd, from Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd al-Malik from ʿAbdullāh ibn Abī-Mulaykah, from ʿĀ'ishah who said that the Prophet (ṣ) left her dwellings delighted, but returned sad, and said: I have entered the Kaʿbah, but had I known before what I know now I would not have entered it; I fear that I may have caused my community some difficulty [on that account].

There is no indication whatsoever in this narration that his entering the Kaʿbah took place during the Farewell Pilgrimage. Moreover, it can be

considered to allude to his entering it during the expedition of the Conquest. In this vein, al-Azraqī mentions, through various chains of transmission, the narration that the Prophet (ṣ) entered the Kaʿbah during the Conquest of Makkah, which says that the narrator said: I heard my grandfather saying: I heard Sufyān saying that he had heard a number of scholars mentioning that the Apostle of God (ṣ) entered the Kaʿbah only once and that was in the year of the Conquest, then later on, he performed ḥajj but did not enter it.

Al-Fāsī considered this opinion of al-Azraqī as the basic position on this issue, saying: This opinion having been established, let us now point out the narrations of the aforementioned companions of the Prophet.

Then he presented many reports that explicitly indicated that the Prophet entered the Kaʿbah when he conquered Makkah, or implied the same by virtue of circumstantial evidence; but none of them suggest that it was during the Farewell Pilgrimage.

Did the Prophet's wives enter the Ka'bah or not?

Describing the manner of the circumambulation of Prophet's wives, al-Bukhārī quotes ʿAṭā as saying: Whenever they entered the House, they would wait until the men had gone out.

Al-Sunan al-Kubrā: ʿĀ'ishah said: O Apostle of God, all your wives except me have entered the House." He said to her, "Go to one of your kinsmen and let them open it for you.'" She said: So I went to him (one of her kinsmen) and said, "The Apostle of God (ṣ) orders you to open it for me." Then he took the keys and went to the Apostle (ṣ) and said, "O Apostle of God, I swear by God that I have never opened the door at night, either in the pre-Islamic era or after it." The Apostle (ṣ) said to ʿĀ'ishah: When your people built the House they were short of funds, so they left out some part of the [area of the] House unconstructed and that is the Ḥijr, so go and offer two cycles of prayer in it.

These two narrations indicate that the Prophet's wives entered inside the Kaʿbah during the Farewell Pilgrimage and he did not prohibit that practice. It can be said that entering the Kaʿbah by men and women alike was a known practice before the advent of Islam and after it, and this was not discouraged by the Prophet (ṣ) or the Pure Imams (ʿa). Nevertheless there are some narrations that say: Women are not required to enter the Venerated Kaʿbah, or attend the Friday or daily congregational prayers, or touch the House, or move fast between Ṣafā and Marwah.

However, what is meant is that these acts are not recommended for them, not that they were unrecognized by the law or prohibited. Such non-obligatory deeds are more appropriate for men because they require strength and endurance, and not compatible with female nature, so relieving the women of these types of activities is actually a form of benevolence toward them. In the light of this explanation, the latter set of narrations may not be regarded as contradicting the first set, which allows women to enter the Kaʿbah.

Why did the Prophet put up at Al-Abṭuḥ rather than at his house?

When the Prophet entered Makkah, he did the circumambulation and after praying at Abraham's Station and the circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah, he retired to his tent which had been erected for him at al-Abṭuḥ outside the city of Makkah, where he remained until the time he left for ʿArafāt. In Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), he said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) and his companions camped at al-Abṭuḥ; he did not lodge in the houses.

Al-Wāqidī relates a narration by Ummu-Hānī bint Abī-Ṭālib: I said, "O Apostle of God, will you not put up in the houses of Makkah?" He refused and pitched his tent at Al-Abṭuḥ and remained there until the Day of Tarwiyah, when he left for ʿArafāt. After ʿArafāt and Minā he returned to al-Abṭuḥ up to the time he set out for the homeward journey to al-Madīnah; he did not lodge or even take shelter in any house.

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim relates that Abū-Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, describing how he travelled from Yemen to Makkah for that pilgrimage, said: I arrived and met the Apostle of God (ṣ) at Makkah, he was camping at al-Abṭuḥ.

The reason why he lodged at al-Abṭuḥ was that, after his migration to al-Madīnah, his cousin ʿAqīl ibn Abī-Ṭālib, had sold his house in Makkah. In *Akhbār Makkah*, it is reported that when he was asked during the Farewell Pilgrimage where he was going to lodge, he remarked, "Did ʿAqīl leave any shelter for us?" He said something similar to this after the Conquest of Makkah.

Al-Bayhaqī relates that Usāmah ibn Zayd said during his pilgrimage, "O Apostle of God, where will you lodge?" He replied, "Did ʿAqīl leave any house for us?" Then he added, "Tomorrow we shall camp at Khayf of Banū-Kinānah, where they had bound one another by the oath to support unbelief."

This place was al-Muḥaṣṣab and the oath he referred to was the pact which the two Arab tribes of Quraysh and Kinānah had entered into to boycott the Banū-Hāshim clan: that they would not intermarry with them, they would

not hold business with them and they would not give them shelter.

Al-Azraqī records another report like this one on the authority of ʿAṭā who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) did not lodge in Makkan houses again after his migration to al-Madīnah. Whenever he finished his circumambulation he retired to the highland part of Makkah and erected his tents… This is what he did when he travelled for pilgrimage; he camped at the highland before going to ʿArafāt and he spent the night before the day of setting out for the return journey at the highest part of the valley."

Al-Ḥumaydī relates in his *Musnad*: Sufyān informs us, from Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān, from Sulaymān ibn Yasār, from Abū-Rāfiʿ who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) did not ask me to put up there—that is al-Abṭuḥ—but I was the one who erected his tents there and he took up quarters there.

The Prophet's sermon on the 7th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah

The Apostle of God (ṣ) was commissioned by God to teach the people and guide them towards the upright path. On this journey he imparted to the people what was necessary for them to attain felicity in this and the next worlds. In the course of discharging the duty of pilgrimage he taught, he admonished, he announced laws, concerning the rites of ḥajj, some of which he explained for the first time, because it was newly brought by Gabriel (ʿa) from God Most High. As such, it is not out of place to say that he delivered numerous speeches, both long and short, in different places and on different occasions.

Some scholars of *ḥadīth* and writers have mentioned his sermons in particular places and times, one of which is his sermon on the seventh of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah in which he explained the rites of ḥajj. Al-Wāqidī says: The Apostle of God (ṣ) delivered a sermon in the afternoon in Makkah one day before the Day of Tarwiyah.

The author of *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* writes: A day before the Day of Tarwiyah, the Apostle of God (ṣ) addressed the people and informed them about pilgrimage rites.

This sermon of the Prophet is also mentioned by Ibn Kathīr, al-Miqrīzī, Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, al-Shawkānī and al-Ḥalabī. Among the Imāmiyyah Shīʿah scholars, Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Ḥillī says: Recommended sermons are… and the sermon before the Day of Tarwiyah, in which the Imam informs the pilgrims about the rites of ḥajj.

TO THE VENERATED STATIONS

The Prophet (ṣ) and the rest of the pilgrims leave for ʻArafāt

Four days after his arrival in Makkah, the Prophet (ṣ) left for Minā on the Day of Tarwiyah and the pilgrims made all necessary preparations and took enough provisions for their stay at the holy stations. Because of the peculiar nature of Minā, which was a desert area with no spring or any other source of water, the pilgrims used to fetch a lot of water on the 8th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, which was named the Day of Tarwiyah for that reason. (*Al-Tarwiyah* means watering or taking water supplies). The Apostle of God (ṣ) ordered the pilgrims, who had quitted their initial *iḥrām* to enter into another *iḥrām* at Makkah, chant *talbiyah* of commencing ḥajj and move on to Minā. Those who had taken their offerings along like the Prophet (ṣ) himself remained in their initial *iḥrām*. All the pilgrims who went for ḥajj that year, those from al-Madīnah, Yemen, the Bedouins settlements and from among the residents of Makkah, converged on Minā in the forenoon of the Day of Tarwiyah.

Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration reads: On the Day of Tarwiyah, at noon, the Prophet (ṣ) asked the people to take a bath and make the intention for commencing ḥajj, and that was in compliance with the command of God the Exalted, which He sent down to His Prophet (ṣ): *So follow the creed of Abraham, the upright.* Thus the Prophet (ṣ) and his companions set out to Minā chanting *talbiyah* for ḥajj. He prayed the noon, afternoon, sunset and night prayers at Minā and spent the night there and the people were with him until morning.

In his narration, Muḥammad ibn Muslim said: I asked Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa), "Did the Apostle of God (ṣ) pray the noon prayer at Minā on the Day of Tarwiyah?" He replied, "Yes, he prayed the morning prayer also at Minā on the Day of ʿArafāt."

The last narration agrees with Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's that the Apostle of God prayed five consecutive daily prayers in Minā: noon and afternoon prayers of the day of Tarwiyah, sunset and night prayers of that night, and dawn prayers of ʿArafāt day. The stay at Minā was to allow time for those pilgrims who were yet to complete their preparations and join the Apostle of God (ṣ). This stop was not part of the duties of ḥajj, except that Minā was along the pilgrims' way to the plain of ʿArafāt.

Jābir's long narration in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* also agrees with the Shīʿah version. It says: On the Day of Tarwiyah, they set off for Minā. They chanted *talbiyah* for ḥajj. The Apostle of God (ṣ) was riding a mount. He prayed the noon, afternoon, sunset, night and dawn prayers and stayed for a while until the sun rose.

Daʿā'im al-Islām: The Apostle of God (ṣ) was in Minā on the morning of the day of ʿArafāt, but he prayed the noon prayer at ʿArafāt. He did not leave Minā until the sun rose.

The Prophet reaches 'Arafāt

On the ninth of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, that is the day of ʿArafāt, the Prophet (ṣ) left Minā for ʿArafāt by the way of Ḍubb. *al-Kāfi*: From Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ismāʿīl ibn Hammām who heard Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa) saying: In the morning, the Apostle of God (ṣ) set out from Minā, taking the path of Ḍubb.

In Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration, Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: In the morning, the Apostle of God was prepared to set out for ʿArafāt. The Qurayshites used to take the route of Muzdalifah (that is Jamʿ) and they used to prevent other pilgrims from following this route to ʿArafāt, so they hoped that the Apostle (ṣ) would take the same way, but God the Exalted sent down the verse to him: *Then stream out from where the people stream out and plead for God's forgiveness*. The *people* in this verse alludes to Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac as they and those who came after them took the route this verse is instructing the Prophet (ṣ) to take. When the Qurayshites saw that the Apostle (ṣ) had taken another route, they were somewhat dismayed because they had hoped that he would take their route. He went on until he reached Namirah (which is the same as Baṭn ʿIrnah, adjacent to al-Arāk), and erected his tent there and the people erected theirs nearby. When it was noon, the Apostle of God (ṣ) went out accompanied by the Qurayshites, and moved to the mosque. He had taken a bath and terminated his *talbiyah* prior to that. He exhorted the people, commanded them to act righteously and forbade them from doing bad, then he prayed the noon and afternoon prayers with one adhān and separate iqāmah (the second call to prayer just before it starts). Thereafter, he passed on to the *place of standing* and stopped there. The people began scrambling to stand beside the hooves of his she-camel. He moved the animal but the people repeated that action, so he said, "O people, the position of my camel's hooves is not the station, the station is all this," and he pointed to [the area that was part of the] station, so the people moved back. He did the same at Muzdalifah [i.e.

he pointed to the area which was included in the station of Muzdalifah]. The pilgrims stayed there up to sunset. The Prophet (ṣ) then moved toward Muzdalifah and instructed the people to stream out calmly.

Al-Kulaynī relates a similar narration from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Faḍl ibn Shādhān, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr and Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa).

On this issue, Jābir's narration says: He gave orders that a domed structure of fur be erected for him at Namirah. Then he set out while the Qurayshites were in no doubt that he would stop over at the Holy Mashʿar (i.e. Muzdalifah), as the Qurayshites used to do in pre-Islamic times. But the Apostle of God (ṣ) passed on until he reached ʿArafāt where he found that his dome had been erected at Namirah and he rested there. At noon, he asked for his mount, al-Quṣwā', and it was prepared for him. Then he mounted, went to the middle of the valley and addressed the people… Then adhān was called and he said iqāmah and offered the noon prayer. Then he made another iqāmah and prayed the afternoon prayer without performing any other prayers between the two. Then he rode again and moved to the station. He made his camel face the rocks, the crowd of people was in front of him and he faced the qiblah. He stood there until the sun set and the yellowish glow of twilight disappeared, then he rode together with Usāmah on his mount and set to depart.

Discussing the rites of ḥajj, the author of *al-Faqīh* states: When you reach ʿArafāt, erect your tent at Namirah near the mosque, because it was the place where the Apostle of God (ṣ) erected his tent and a domed structure.

Tahdhīb: Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Abī-Khaṭṭāb, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī-Naṣr, from Muḥammad ibn Simaʿah al-Ṣayrafī, from Simaʿah ibn Mihrān, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) stood at ʿArafāt and the people scrambled to stand next to the hooves of his she-camel. He moved the animal but they persisted, so he said, "O people, the station [of ʿArafāt] is not the position of my camel's hooves; all this is [part of the] station," and he pointed with his hand to the [area that was included in the] station. He said, "All this is [part of] the station," and the people moved back. He did the same for Muzdalifah…

Al-Bayhaqī writes: Abū-Muḥammad ʿAbdullāh ibn Yūsuf al-Iṣbahānī informed us, from Abū-Saʿīd ibn al-Aʿrābī, from Saʿdān ibn Naṣr, from Sufyān who said that ʿAmr—(ibn Dīnār)—heard ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Ṣafwān relating that he heard Yazīd ibn Shaybān saying: We were standing

at ʿArafāt at a place that was far away from the [middle of the] station when Ibn Mirbaʿ al-Anṣārī came to us and said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) sent me to tell you that you should keep these sacraments of yours because you are following a legacy among the legacies of Abraham (ʿa).

Al-Kāfī: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Ḥammād, from al-Ḥalabī, who reported that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God said at the Station, "Move away from Baṭn ʿIrnah," and, "The pilgrimage of those who stand at al-Arāk is not acceptable."

Something similar is reported in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* and *al-Istibṣār*. This means that it is necessary to stand at ʿArafāt, and the standing should not be at ʿIrnah or the valley of al-Arāk, because they are not part of the station of ʿArafāt.

During the standing at ʿArafāt someone among the pilgrims died. Ibn ʿAbbās says: A man was observing the rite of standing at ʿArafāt along with the Apostle of God (ṣ) when he suddenly fell down from his mount and broke his neck. When the Prophet (ṣ) was informed of it he gave the instruction, "Wash his body with [pure] water and lotus water and wrap it in two pieces of cloth. Do not apply camphor to it and do not cover the head, for God will resurrect him on the Day of Resurrection as a chanter of *talbiyah*." Because perfume is not allowed when one enters into the state of *iḥrām*, it was not allowed to wash the dead body with camphor water, and the head was not covered since it was not permissible for men who are in *iḥrām* to cover their heads. Abū-Dāwūd relates a narration by Ḥārith ibn ʿAmr al-Sahmī, in which he said: I met the Apostle of God (ṣ) at Minā or ʿArafāt surrounded by the people. The Bedouins would come and whenever they saw his face they would say: This is a blessed face.

At ʿArafāt, the Prophet (ṣ) gave a stern warning to the people. Although this is found in his famous sermon, we wish to mention it here separately for emphasis. Al-Ṭūsī relates that Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī said that the Prophet (ṣ) uttered this statement in ʿArafāt, and in another report he (al-Ṭūsī) said that it was in Minā: A group of narrators informed us, from Abū-Mufaḍḍal, who said that he read this narration to the hearing of Abū-Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, and from ʿAlī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā al-ʿAwdī al-Ṣūfī, from Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn (al-ʿArnī), from Yaḥyā ibn Yaʿlā, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Mūsā al-Taymī, from Abū'l-Zubayr, from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said in the Farewell Pilgrimage while my knees were touching his, "Do not renege after me and become unbelievers who strike at the necks of one another. If you do, you

will recognize me beside the rank [of fighters].” Then Gabriel motioned him to listen so he turned to him and Gabriel said, “Say, if God wills. [You will see me] or see ʿAlī,” and the Prophet (ṣ) said, “If God wills [You will see me] or see ʿAlī.”

Al-Bukhārī reports this warning, saying: Jābir related that the Prophet (ṣ) said to him during the Farewell Pilgrimage, “Ask the people to listen,” and then said, “Do not renege after me and become unbelievers who strike at the necks of one another.”

In another narration, al-Ṭūsī writes that Jābir said: While the Prophet (ṣ) was at ʿArafāt, and ʿAlī (ʿa) was facing him and we were around him, he pointed to ʿAlī (ʿa) and said, “Come nearer, O ʿAlī.” He drew near him and he said, “Place your palm on mine.” He did and the Prophet (ṣ) took his palm and said, “O ʿAlī, I and you were created from the same tree; I am its trunk, you are its branches, and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn its twigs. Whoever clings to one of its twigs, God will admit him to paradise by His grace.”

Shaykh al-Mufīd relates Salmān al-Fārisī’s narration in which he said: The Apostle of God addressed the people on the day of ʿArafāt, “O people, God has taken pride in you on this day so that He may shower His general clemency on you and special clemency on ʿAlī.” Then he said, “O ʿAlī, come near me,” so he drew near him and the Prophet (ṣ) took his hand and said, “Surely the felicitous, the completely and truly felicitous, is the one who obeys you and takes you as his leader after me. Surely the damned, the completely and truly damned, is the one who disobeys you and harbors hostility against you after me.”

With regard to the importance of the day of ʿArafāt, al-Bayhaqī relates a narration by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Yaʿmur al-Dīlī who said: I came to the Apostle of God (ṣ) at ʿArafāt and a group of his companions came forward and asked one of them to call out, “O Apostle of God, how is ḥajj to be performed? How is ḥajj to be performed?” He ordered a man to call, “Ḥajj is the day of ʿArafāt. He who comes before the dawn prayer, in the night of Jamʿ, his ḥajj is complete. The days of Minā are three; then whoever hastens off in a couple of days, there is no sin upon him.” Then he ordered another man to announce this.

Another report says: He who arrives in ʿArafāt before dawn…”

In Abū-Dāwūd’s version: Then a group of people came or a group of people from Najd came…

The Prophet's sermon on the day of 'Arafāt

In the forenoon of the ninth day, the Apostle of God (ṣ) was in his tent which had been constructed for him at Namirah near the plain of ʿArafāt. He had taken a bath and he was ready for the rites of that day. When it was past noon, he went out of his tent and prepared to address the people. Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration alluded to this sermon saying, "He exhorted the people, bidding and forbidding them," without recounting the full sermon. In Jābir's narration and other sources the sermon is mentioned in summary. Jābir says, "Then he moved on until he reached ʿArafāt, and found that a tent had been erected for him at Namirah, and stopped and rested there. When it was past noon, he ordered for his mount, Al-Quṣwā', to be prepared, and he rode to the middle of the valley where he addressed people, "Surely your blood and your wealth are sacred like the sacredness of this day, this month and this city; their violation is unlawful for you. Listen! Every dispute of the pre-Islamic era is trodden over under my feet, cancelled; the blood claims of the pre-Islamic era are abolished and the first of our blood claims that I terminate is that of Ibn Rabīʿah ibn Ḥārith, who was suckled in the Banū-Saʿd clan and killed by the Hudhayl clan. The usury of the pre-Islamic era is hereby abolished and the first usury I cancel is that of our family, the usury of ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, it is all abolished. Fear God with regard to women because you have taken them into wedlock as God's trust, you have made their private parts lawful for yourselves by God's word. You have rights over your wives and they have rights over you. They should not allow anyone on your beds; if they do so you can beat them but mildly. You should provide them food and clothing in a befitting manner. I am leaving among you a thing, which if you follow you will never go astray: the Book of God. You will be asked about me, so what are you going to say?"

People replied, "We bear witness that you have communicated the message and discharged your duty faithfully."

Then he raised his forefinger up and made a motion as if drawing a line from the sky downwards to the people and saying three times, "O God, be witness."

This sermon of the Prophet (ṣ) is the most familiar one recorded in the works of both Sunni and Shīʿah scholars, and it is held in high esteem in literary circles on account of its purity of style and richness of meaning. Opinions have differed as to the place and time the Apostle of God (ṣ) delivered this sermon: was it at ʿArafāt or Minā, and in which of the days of Minā, if it was delivered there? Some writers mentioned it under the title: *The sermon of the*

Apostle of God (ṣ) during the Farewell Pilgrimage, without indicating the place. Some of them are al-Ḥarrānī, al-Jāḥiẓ and Ibn ʿAbd-Rabbih al-Andalusī. Other writers, such as Ibn Hishām, al-Nasā'ī and Muslim, recorded it as *the Prophet's sermon at 'Arafāt*. Muslim did not record another sermon at Minā. A third group says that the Prophet (ṣ) delivered this sermon at Minā. Some of them are al-Bukhārī, in a report by Ibn ʿAbbās, which says that it was on the Day of Sacrifice, and al-Baghawī, who, did not record any sermon for the day of ʿArafāt.

Al-Haythamī recorded this narration in a number of ways under the title: *Sermons during the pilgrimage*. Ibn Kathīr mentions a number of narrations on the Prophet's sermons on the day of the festival. Al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr also recorded this famous sermon. Similarly, in *Kanz al-'Ummāl* and *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, various narrations of this address are recorded. In one narration, Ibn Mājah relates that the Prophet (ṣ) addressed the people *during the Farewell Pilgrimage* and in another he specifies *at 'Arafāt*, and in a third, he says *on the day of sacrifice between the pillars*.

Some reports declare that Sūrah al-Naṣr was revealed to the Prophet (ṣ) in the days of Tashrīq (11th, 12th and 13th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah), and he perceived that it was a farewell, so he mounted his she camel, al-Aḍbā', to address the people. He praised and commended God and said, "O people, all blood claims of the pre-Islamic era are abolished." Ibn Kathīr relates it in summary, first with the title: *The sermon of the Apostle of God at 'Arafāt*, based on Muslim's report, and under the title: *The sermon of the Apostle of God (ṣ) at Minā*, as narrated by al-Bukhārī. In his account in *al-Maghāzī*, al-Wāqidī mentions some parts of this sermon within what he titled, *the Prophet's sermon on the day of the Conquest*, and so did al-Miqrīzi in *Imtā al-Asmā'*.

It may be noted that whether this sermon was mentioned in its full form or abridged, whether it was said to be the Prophet's sermon in the Farewell Pilgrimage, or his sermon at ʿArafāt, or his sermon at Minā on the Day of Sacrifice, or during the days of Tashrīq, the meaning and message conveyed by the various versions are similar. In my opinion, the Prophet (ṣ) delivered the sermon at ʿArafāt, but because of its importance and the lack of loud speakers and public-address systems in those days, he repeated it at various occasions and places on the days of sacrifice (10th, 11th and 12th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah). That was desirable because it was a gathering the like of which the Muslims had not seen, since the beginning of the Prophet's mission up to that day. It was an assembly which brought together thousands of people from all over the Islamic domain.

This sermon is in reality a last will, complete and comprehensive, a concrete foundation for Muslim unity and a guide for their affairs, religious and mundane. Despite the variety of the sources in which this sermon is recorded, its meaning and message are unaffected. Here we are going to relate the version of *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, a work that was written by Shaykh Abū-Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn Shuʿbah al-Ḥarrānī, an eminent Shīʿah Imāmiyyah scholar of the forth Hegira century.

The Prophet's sermon during the Farewell Pilgrimage

All praise is due to God. We praise Him, seek His help, His forgiveness, and return to Him in repentance. We seek refuge with God from the evil of our selves and our misdeeds. Whoever God guides, no one can lead astray; whoever He leaves to stray, no one can guide. I bear witness that there is no deity except God, the One who has no associate. I bear witness that Muḥammad is His servant and apostle.

O servants of God, I exhort you to be God-fearing, and I urge you to be obedient to Him, and I seek God's assistance to achieve that which is good. O people! Listen to what I will tell you, for I do not know whether I will meet you again in this place after this year.

O people! Surely your lives and honor are inviolable for you up to the time you will meet your Lord, [their inviolability is] like the sacrosanctity of this day and this city. Listen! Have I communicated [the message]? O God, bear witness!

Whoever holds something in trust should return it to the person who has entrusted him with it [as agreed]. The usury of the pre-Islamic era is abolished and the first case of usury I will start with is that of ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. The blood claims of the pre-Islamic period are also abolished, and the first claim I cancel is that of the blood of ʿĀmir ibn Rabīʿah ibn Ḥārith ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. The privileges of the pre-Islamic era are abolished with the exception of office of service to the House and the office of serving water to pilgrims. The crime of murder will attract retribution, that of manslaughter—[such as] killing with a staff or a stone—attracts a hundred camels [as blood money] and any addition to this is of the pre-Islamic customs.

O people! Satan has despaired of being worshipped in this land of yours, but is pleased to be obeyed in matters apart from this, misdeeds

that you may consider minor.

O people! "*Indeed nasī' is an increase in unfaith whereby the faithless are led [further] astray. They allow it in one year and forbid it in another year, so as to fit in with the number which God has made inviolable.*" Indeed time has turned full circle [and returned to] the condition similar to what it was on the day God created the heavens and the earth. "*Indeed the number of months with God is twelve in God's Book, the day He created the heavens and the earth. Of these, four are sacred*" three consecutive ones and one lone month: Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and Muḥarram, and Rajab which is between Jumādā and Shaʿbān. Listen! Have I communicated [the message]? Oh God, bear witness.

O people! Surely your wives have rights over you and you have rights over them. Your right is that they should not allow anyone into your beds, they should not admit someone you dislike into your houses except by your permission, and they should not commit an indecent act (i.e. adultery). If they do so God has given you the permission to be severe with them, keep away from them in bed and beat them mildly. If they desist from their wrongdoing and obey you, you have the duty of providing their provisions and clothing in a proper way. You have taken them in wedlock as a trust of God, you have their private parts lawful for yourselves by [leave of] the Book of God, so fear God with regard to women and treat them well.

O people! "*Believers are indeed brothers*," and the property of a believer is not lawful for his brother believer unless what is willingly given out. Listen! Have I communicated [the message]? O God, bear witness.

Do not become renegades after me, killing one another, for I am leaving behind something which will prevent you from going astray if you follow it: the Book of God and my progeny, my family. Listen! Have I communicated [the message]? O God, bear witness.

O people! Your Lord is one and your father is one: all of you are from Adam and Adam was created from earth. "*Indeed the noblest of you in the sight of God is the most God-wary among you*," and an Arab is not better than a non-Arab except by way of being God-fearing. Listen! Have I communicated [the message]?

The attendants answered, "'Yes."

The Holy Prophet (ṣ) then continued:

> Let those who are present convey the message to those who are absent.
>
> O people! God has allocated to all heirs their shares from the estate of the deceased, and he shall not bequeath anything to an heir outside the one third [of his estate that he is allowed to bequeath]. The child [when fatherhood disputed] is for the husband (lit. for the bed, i.e. the owner of the bed) and as for the adulterer, stones are his lot. Whoever claims as his father someone else, and whoever (i.e. any former slave who) takes as guardians other than his real master, on them is the curse of God, His angels and all mankind; God will not accept of them any repentance or ransom. Peace and mercy of God be upon you.

As to who the Prophet's announcer was, Ibn Hishām relates from Ibn Isḥāq, from Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbbād ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Zubayr, from his (i.e. Yaḥyā's) father ʿAbbād, who said: The man who acted as crier and announced the address of the Apostle of God (ṣ) at ʿArafāt was Rabīʿah ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf.

Al-Yaʿqūbī says: He ordered Rabīʿah ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf, who was then a youth, to stand next the breast of his camel. He said to him, "O Rabīʿah, say: O people, the Apostle of God is saying…"

Imtā al-Asmā': The person who was announcing what the Prophet (ṣ) said was Rabīʿah ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf. This was necessary because of the multitude of people who were present: about forty thousand people were in attendance.

Some narrations that recount this sermon do not mention the exhortation to follow the "*Two Weighty Things*," that is the Book of God and the Prophet's progeny, and because of this we are quoting a separate narration that mentions this issue.

Al-Tirmidhī relates: Naṣr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kūfī informs us, from Zayd ibn Ḥasan (al-Anmāṭī), from Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh who said: I saw the Apostle of God (ṣ) in his Farewell Pilgrimage on the day of ʿArafāt mounted on his she-camel, al-Quṣwā', and addressing the people. He said, "O people, I have left with you that, which if you follow it, you will never go astray: the Book of God and my progeny, my family."

Ibn Khuzaymah also narrated it.

Before discussing the lessons that can be derived from this famous sermon, it is pertinent to mention, by way of an epilogue, what the Prophet (ṣ) said in ʿArafāt about the honorable position of a pilgrim in the sight of God. The beginning of the following narration suggests that he delivered this speech on the evening of the day of ʿArafāt, after performing the rite of standing, while his famous sermon was delivered shortly after noon at Baṭn ʿIrnah, another place by the side of ʿArafāt.

It is reported in *Daʿā'im al-Islām*: ʿAlī (ʿa) said that during the Farewell Pilgrimage, when the Apostle of God (ṣ) was standing at ʿArafāt he faced the people and said, "Welcome to the delegation of God (he said this three times), those who are granted when they ask, whose expenses are replaced for them, and, in the next world, are given a thousand good deeds for every dirham they spend. O people, do you want me to give you glad tidings?"

They replied, "Yes, O Apostle of God!"

Then he said, "When evening sets in today, God will take pride in this assembly before the angels and say to them, 'O my angels, look at my servants. They have come to me from different parts of the world disheveled and covered in dust. Do you know what they are praying for?' The angels will answer: 'Our Lord, they are praying for Your forgiveness.' Then He will say, 'I ask you to bear witness that I have forgiven them, so they will depart their station having attained forgiveness for what has passed.'"

Mustadrak al-Wasā'il, quoting al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī's *Lubb al-Lubab*: The Prophet (ṣ) said: When it is evening on the day of ʿArafāt, God tells his angels: "Look at My servants. They have come to me from every distant place, disheveled and dust-covered. They have not seen my mercy or my punishment –meaning paradise and hell. I call you to bear witness, O My angels, that I have forgiven them, pilgrims and non-pilgrims." No day is seen to have as many people that have been delivered from the fire as the day of ʿArafāt and the night that precedes it.

Some lessons from this sermon

That magnificent public gathering which tens of thousands of Muslims witnessed was, in fact, a suitable platform for communicating some salient points that the Prophet (ṣ) had been propagating throughout his mission, as well as, a chance to explain to the Muslim nation its responsibilities as it tread the path that led to the building of a splendid civilization. Thus the Prophet (ṣ) seized this opportunity, gathered the people around him, and spoke in his capacity as the bearer of the Great Qur'ān; he conveyed the

message and explained it, guided the people to the right path and warned them against deviating. We wish to briefly point out the important topics that have been touched in this great sermon.

1. Praising God: The Apostle of God (ṣ) opened his sermon with praising God, like the way God opened His Book with glorifying Himself, and since the life of the Apostle of God (ṣ) was and still is a model for Muslims, nay for all mankind, they should imitate him by starting all their actions with the name of God and with His praise.

2. Seeking forgiveness: After falling into sin or negligence, repenting and returning to God is the pathway to success and deliverance, as oft-mentioned in the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet.

3. Seeking refuge with God: Seeking refuge with God from devils among mankind and the jinn, from the evil insinuations of the souls, and from wrong deeds. The need for seeking this is emphasized in the Qur'ān and the divine teachings. For instance, the two chapters of seeking refuge (Sūrah al-Falaq and Sūrah al-Nās) and God's instruction to His Prophet (ṣ): *And say: My Lord! I seek Your protection from the prompting of devils. And I seek Your protection, my Lord, from their presence near me.*

These three formulas of seeking refuge (i.e. the two Sūrahs and these verses) start with the imperative *say* which is addressed specifically to the Prophet (ṣ) and generally to all Muslims.

4. The two formulas of the Islamic creed: The Muslim's bearing witness that there is no deity except God the Exalted and Muḥammad, son of ʿAbdullāh (ṣ), is His prophet, is the most basic foundation of Islam. A Muslim repeats these creedal statements always in his prayers and utterances, and at death, they are supposed to be one's adieu to the world. Therefore, as leader and model of the Muslims, the Prophet commenced his sermon with this formula.

5. Exhorting people to fear God and obey His commands to do what He bids and avoid what He forbids: This has been the incessant call of God-chosen leaders and guides as part of the aims of their missions. They remind the people to persevere in this world, the arena of trials and tribulations, so that they may attain communion with God in the hereafter.

6. Urging the people to pay attention to his speech: It is normal for speakers to call the attention of their audience but this need was even more pronounced in that large gathering of pilgrims, which was prone to intense din caused by thousands of people. Therefore, he asked them be silent by

mentioning a point that could immediately draw their attention: he said that they may not meet again for another similar occasion.

7. The inviolability of Muslims' life and honor: Life and honor are fundamental aspects of human society and the continuity of human civilization, and in their absence nothing can remain except barbarity. The sacredness of life guarantees the continuity of the human species and the inviolability of honor saves humankind from barbarism.

8. The inviolability of trust: Muslims, in fact, human beings as a whole, live together in ease and peace by virtue of respecting trusts, which breeds mutual confidence. In a society devoid of trust, that is, mutual confidence, life is extremely difficult to live. It because of this reality, that Muḥammad the Trustworthy (ṣ), enjoined his community to respect trusts even if they involved their enemies.

9. Abolishing of Usury: The prohibition of usury is a prominent part of Qur'ānic teachings and its proscription is found in a number of verses of the Holy Book, such as: *O you who have faith! Fear God and abandon [all claims to] what remains of usury, should you be faithful. And if you do not, then be informed of a war from God and His apostle.*

In this speech that treats general matters, the Apostle of God (ṣ) mentioned the unlawfulness of usury so that new converts, who had embraced Islam in droves, after the conquest of Makkah, would also hear this from him. Because those converts were still new to the religion, it was necessary that the Prophet (ṣ) should impart the new teachings to them in a practical way: he abolished the usury of his uncle ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and this was meant to be a model for all Muslims.

10. Abolition of the blood claims of the pre-Islamic period: The Islamic nation was a new dispensation that was established by the Qur'ān, the Prophet (ṣ) and Islam. It came with its peculiar set of laws, customs and rules that differed from what was known to the polytheists and unbelievers and, to establish this nascent Qur'ānic community on a new foundation, Islam eliminated the customs and practices of the Days of Ignorance. It removed disagreements and hostilities that had been their lot before the advent of Islam and, on embracing the new religion, they were transformed into a civilized people, as though they had not experienced a life of mutual hatred and bloody conflicts, as though they were siblings. Former blood feuds between tribes or clans, that often resulted because of disputes on trivial issues, gave way to the brotherhood of faith. The Prophet (ṣ) launched this new chapter of social relations by abolishing the claim for the blood of

his kinsman ʿĀmir ibn Rabīʿah ibn Ḥārith ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who was killed by the Hudhayl clan. This singular act of leading by example had a profound effect in tilting the balance in favor of Islam, in the encounter between entrenched customs and the new social system that Islam advocated.

11. Abolishing of pre-Islamic laws that affected the ḥajj rites: Even before the coming of Islam, the House of God—the Kaʿbah—was a venerated place and the Arabs used to visit it and the Holy *standing places* in its vicinity. Along with these rites, they developed some customs and practices among which was, that a pilgrim was not allowed to circumambulate the Kaʿbah wearing any clothes other than those supplied by the residents of the Holy precincts; should anyone do so they should discard their dresses in the yard of the Kaʿbah to be destroyed by the elements and the tread of circumambulating pilgrims. Likewise, Islam put an end to offerings that the polytheists used to slaughter in the courtyard of the Kaʿbah for their idols which stood around the Holy House, and some even inside and on top of it.

Similarly, the Apostle of God (ṣ) cancelled all other customs that prevailed during the pre-Islamic era, with two exceptions. The first was the office of *sadānah*, which rendered a service to the venerable House of God, which included taking care of its security. This office had been held by the Banū-Shaybah clan and after the Prophet (ṣ) conquered Makkah he allowed them to continue in that capacity. The second was the work of supplying the pilgrims with water from the Zamzam well, that is *siqāyah*, which was carried out in those days by ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's uncle, and he left it in the hands of the Muṭṭalibs.

12. The punishments for murder and manslaughter: The law of Islam has prescribed retribution as punishment for murder and the crime of willful injuring of limbs. The Qur'ān says: *There is life for you in retribution, O you who posses intellects!* And: *O you who have faith! Retribution is prescribed for you regarding the slain.* In the case of manslaughter, Islamic law prescribes blood-money to be paid to the relatives of the victim. In this address, the Prophet (ṣ) has set it at a hundred camels and prohibited any addition to that, as the Arabs used to do during the Age of Ignorance.

13. Stopping the practice of *nasī'*: From the beginning, God made the year to consist of twelve months as said in this Qur'ānic verse: *Indeed the number of months with God is twelve in God's Book, the day He created the heavens and the earth. Of these, four are sacred. That is the upright religion.* The sacred months are four: three consecutive ones—Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, Dhu'l-

Ḥijjah and Muḥarram—and Rajab which is between Jumādā and Shaʿbān. No addition to the number of the months or subtraction therefrom is permissible, nor is delaying or bringing forward of any allowed. They must remain as God made them originally.

Majmaʿ al-Bayān: "What is meant by *sacred* months is that the crime of committing sins in them is graver than in others. The Arabs used to venerate these months so much, that if a man met his father's killer in them he would not so much as disparage the killer. God made some of these months more sacred than others, perhaps because of some benefit that is associated with the avoidance of committing injustices in them, because of their greatness. Moreover, this abstaining could lead to a complete abandonment of unjust practices, because abstaining during the sacred months might have a dousing effect on the fire of hatred and tribal fanaticism within that period.

In those days the Arabs were always involved in inter-tribal wars and would hardly bear to keep the peace for three consecutive months without a skirmish. From another angle, the ḥajj season provided a great market opportunity for their merchants and they wanted the festival to occur in mild weather. Because of these two reasons, and to achieve these twin objectives, the pre-Islamic Arabs used to interfere with the normal sequence of the months of the year by delaying some sacred months to another time of year, thereby considering some sacred months non-sacred. This is what is called *nasīʾ* or postponement, which God has forbidden in the Qur'ān, ʿIndeed *nasīʾ* is an increase in unfaith whereby the faithless are led [further] astray. They allow it in one year and forbid it in another year so as to fit in with the number which God has made inviolable."

In the year of the Farewell Pilgrimage the months returned to their normal sequence similar to the situation on the day God created the heavens and the earth, as the Prophet (ṣ) informed the people. Therefore that year had become the point of reference for the lunar months of later years, and this restored the correct months of fasting and pilgrimage, thus regulating religious and social affairs of Muslims.

14. Reminding them of the rights of women: Women have suffered unfair treatment throughout human history. In some places in former times, some men even detested living with the girl child, as the Qur'ān depicts the attitude of the Arabs: *When one of them is brought the news of a female [newborn], his face darkens and he chokes with suppressed agony.* Evil practice of burying their daughters alive was acceptable among them, until Islam prohibited it. The Prophet (ṣ) made relentless efforts to correct their perverse

thinking and redirect their minds to what is proper. In that great gathering, which took place towards the end of his earthly life, and the like of which was not witnessed, apart from the assembly of Ghadīr Khumm, the noble Prophet (ṣ) seized that opportunity to remind the Muslims of the rights of women, and laid great emphasis on this issue. He spelled out the rights of women on men and the rights of men on women, so that the Muslim community, men and women, would live a life of bliss in faith, fidelity and trust.

15. The inviolability of property: Besides the inviolability of Muslim blood and honor, the inviolability of property is the backbone of any society, economically, socially and politically, and because of the important role that property and wealth play in societal relations, the Prophet (ṣ) underscores the respect for property rights.

16. Islamic brotherhood: For twenty-odd years the Holy Qur'ān and the noble Prophet (ṣ) proclaimed that believers are brothers of one another, so whoever embraces Islam and comes under the banner of monotheism instantly becomes a member of this God-centered brotherhood of people who act kindly towards one another.

17. A word of warning regarding sedition: Because the Prophet (ṣ) knew that sedition and dissension would inevitably come to pass, and since his final days in this world were approaching, he emphasized the necessity to be steadfast on the straight path, which was the upright religion of Islam, and admonished his followers that a Muslim should not kill another Muslim on any pretext.

18. Holding fast to the Two Weighty Things: One of the key topics touched in the sermon was calling on the Muslim nation to hold fast to the ultimate sources of guidance that the Prophet (ṣ) designated as *the Two Weighty Things*. These are the Holy Qur'ān, which is the greater, and the Prophet's Household (the Ahl al-Bayt), which is the lesser of the two. At different occasions he urged the people to stick to them, adding that whoever complies attains salvation, and whoever disregards them, or one of them, is ruined. This instruction is among the major components of the Muḥammadan message and that is why the Prophet (ṣ) repeated this call on several occasions, one of which was the day of the great gathering at ʿArafāt.

19. *Indeed the noblest of you in the sight of God is the most God-wary among you.* [the Holy Qur'ān, Sūrah al-Ḥujurāt] Appeals on the platform of narrow nationalist or similar chauvinist forces have had significant influence on human society, and history is replete with bitter incidents that arose from

these mistaken modes of thinking. For the last fourteen centuries Islam has been struggling against this absurd idea but it still persists. When the noble Prophet (ṣ) came, vainglory in Arab society with regard to the feats and positions of forefathers and tribes had reached a point where they were boasting of their numbers even in the graves, not to speak of the living, as the Qur'ān says: *Rivalry[and vainglory] distracted you until you visited the graves.* The Prophet (ṣ) had discouraged this pagan custom a number of times before and, in this speech also, he stressed its futility in these words: "All of you are from Adam and Adam was created from earth. An Arab is not better than a non-Arab except by way of the fear of God." Thus, all people are equal like the teeth of a comb, and Islam does not recognize any superiority based on language, skin color, race, wealth or power; the only yardstick of merit is the fear of God, and the criteria He set; such as, knowledge, good deeds, and struggling to establish His religion.

20. Prohibition of unfairness when making a will: God the Exalted has prescribed a just system for dividing the estate of the deceased among the heirs, but He has allowed the testator to bequeath up to one-third of his or her property to any relative, or for a philanthropic cause, but disallows the favoring of some heirs at the expense of others.

21. *The child is for the husband*: In a world in which sexual relationships between men and women were not regulated (i.e. in the Arab world of old), sometimes a number of men approach a married woman of easy virtue for these acts, and in the event of conception it became difficult to know the father from among these men. The Prophet (ṣ) declared that in the case of disputed fatherhood, the husband of the woman is to be considered the child's father and the adulterer must face the prescribed punishments for adultery. However, if it is known for sure that the conception was the result of the woman's illicit relation with a particular man then the child would be considered his own and not the husband's. It is noteworthy that laboratory analysis in modern medicine is nowadays capable of ascertaining the source of the sperm which causes the conception, and this will help in determining the real fathers of such children.

A short speech the Prophet delivered at sunset

Al-Kulaynī relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Abū-Ayyūb, from Abū-Ḥamzah al-Thamālī who said: A man criticized ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ʿa), saying, "You have abandoned jihad (that is, waging campaigns in defense of Islam and its territory) and its difficulties and opted for pilgrimage and its ease." The Imam was reclining, he sat up

and said, “Have you not heard what the Apostle of God (ṣ) said in his Farewell Pilgrimage? As he stood at ʿArafāt, when the sun began to set, he said, ‘O Bilāl, ask the people to listen.’ When they were quiet he continued, ‘Your Lord has been generous to you on this day; He has forgiven the good-doers among you and granted them intercession for the offenders among you, so you may all disperse from here covered by His clemency.’”

Al-Kulaynī comments: Other narrators apart from al-Thamālī said that the Prophet (ṣ) added in regard to the extent of those covered by the mercy on that day, “except those who had wronged some people and against whom there were outstanding claims, because God is just and He retrieves the rights of the weak from the strong.” On the night of Jamʿ, (that is the night that is spent in Muzdalifah after the standing at ʿArafāt), the Prophet (ṣ) beseeched his Lord incessantly on behalf of those against whom there were claims. When he stood at Jamʿ he asked Bilāl to call on the people to listen and when they became silent he said, “Your Lord has been generous to you on this day; He has forgiven the good-doers among you and granted them intercession for the offenders among you, so you may all disperse from here covered by His clemency. He has also guaranteed that those against whom there are claims will gain His approval.”

In *Thawāb al-Aʿmāl*, al-Ṣadūq relates the same narration from Mājiluwayh, from his father, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Abū-Ayyūb, from al-Thamālī.

The author of *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl* relates that in the evening of the day of ʿArafāt, the Prophet (ṣ) asked Bilāl to call on the people to listen, and when they became silent, the Apostle of God (ṣ) said, “God has showered His generosity on this gathering of yours. He has granted the good-doer among you intercession for the offender and granted the prayers of the good-doers, so you may disperse from here with God’s blessing.”

Writing in *al-Sunan*, al-Bayhaqī relates: Abū-Muḥammad ʿAbdullāh ibn Yūsuf al-Iṣbahānī informs us, from Abū-Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān, from ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan ibn Abī-ʿĪsā al-Hilālī, from Abū-Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, from ʿAbd al-Qāhir ibn al-Sirrī, from Ibn Liknānah ibn ʿAbbās ibn Mirdās al-Sulamī, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAbbās ibn Mirdās, who said that on the evening of the day of ʿArafāt, the Apostle of God (ṣ) prayed for forgiveness and clemency for his community, and passionately repeated his supplication. God revealed to him, “I have granted it, except with regard to the injustices they commit against one another. But as for the sins they have committed against Me, I have forgiven them.” Then

the Prophet said, "O my Lord! You are capable of giving the wronged person what is more that his claim, so forgive the wrong-doer." But God did not answer him that night. In the morn of Muzdalifah he repeated his supplication and God, the Exalted and Sublime, answered him, "I have forgiven them." The Apostle of God (ṣ) smiled, and on seeing this some of his companions said, "O Apostle of God! You have smiled at an hour in which you do not usually smile." He replied, "I smiled because of what the enemy of God, Satan, did. When he knew that God had accepted my prayers for my community he fell down wailing and lamenting, sprinkling earth on his head."

Anas ibn Mālik is reported to have said: The Prophet (ṣ) stood at ʿArafāt until the time the sun had almost set. Then he said, "O Bilāl, ask people to listen." Bilāl stood up and said, "Listen to the Apostle of God (ṣ)," and they kept quiet. Then the Prophet said, "O people, Gabriel came to me a while ago. He extended my Lord's greetings to me and said: God the Exalted and Sublime has forgiven the people who have attended ʿArafāt and [will attend] the Mashʿar (i.e. Muzdalifah), and he has accepted to be the guarantor of any claims other people may have against them."

Then ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb stood up and said, "O, Apostle of God, is this for us alone?" He replied, "For you and those who will come after you until the Day of Resurrection."

The Prophet's supplications at 'Arafāt

Makkah and the various stations of the pilgrimage area are places that have been venerated by God and He likes to be praised and glorified in them, and thus, the Prophet (ṣ) supplicated and entreated God much in them. Regarding the earnestness of the Prophet's prayers, Usāmah ibn Zayd says: I was riding behind the Prophet on his camel at ʿArafāt when he raised his hands supplicating to God. His camel turned aside and its halter fell off so he took hold of it with one of his hands while the other was still raised.

In addition to his incessant supplications, the Prophet (ṣ) urged the pilgrims who were standing at ʿArafāt to engage in supplications, glorification of God and seeking communion with Him.

Al-Jaʿfariyyāt: From Muḥammad, from Mūsā who said: From my father, from his father, from his grandfather, from Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, from ʿAlī, peace be upon them all. ʿAlī said: It was asked of the Apostle of God (ṣ), "Who is the most criminal of those who have stood at ʿArafāt?" and he replied, "He who

leaves ʿArafāt thinking that his sins have not been forgiven."

Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa) said: "That is, he who despairs of the mercy of God the Exalted and Sublime."

Another narration reads: From Muḥammad, from Mūsā [who said:] from my father, from his father, from his grandfather, Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, from his father, from ʿAlī (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said: Among sins, there are those which are not forgiven except at ʿArafāt.

Al-Ṭūsī relates that Mūsā ibn al-Qāsim has reported from Muḥammad ibn ʿUbaydullāh al-Ḥalabī, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Sinān, from one of our companions, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God said to ʿAlī (ʿa), "Shall I teach you the supplication of the day of ʿArafāt which is also the supplication of the prophets before me?"

He said, "Yes."

The Prophet (ṣ) said: There is no deity except God Who is Alone with no associate, the dominion and the praise are His, He gives life and causes death, He is the Ever-living Who never dies, and He has power over all things. O God, The praise is Yours as You describe Yourself, and above what we say and what [all] others say. O God, My prayer and my worship, my life and my death are for Your sake. My absolution and my power are from You. O God, I take refuge in You against poverty, devilish insinuations, disorder in the affairs and the torment of the grave. O God, I beseech you to grant me the good of the winds and take refuge in You against what the winds bring, and I beseech you for the good of the night and that of day. O God, put light in my heart, light in my hearing and sight, light in my flesh, blood, bones and veins, and light in the place I sit, the place I stand, my entrance and my exit, and make the light great for me on the day I shall meet You. You are indeed powerful over all things.

This supplication is also mentioned in *al-Faqīh* in Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's report from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa).

A similar version of this supplication is reported *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, Ibn Abī-Shaybah's *al-Muṣannaf* and al-Bayhaqī's *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*.

Al-Kulaynī relates another supplication of the Prophet (ṣ) at ʿArafāt: From a number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd, from Ḥammād ibn ʿĪsā, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Maymūn who said: I heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying: The Apostle of God (ṣ) stood at ʿArafāt and before leaving it, when the sun had almost set, he made this

supplication: O God, I take refuge in You against poverty, disorder in the affairs and the evil of what happens by night and by day. My wrong has become a seeker of refuge in Your forgiveness, my fear has become a seeker of refuge in Your safety, my meekness has become a seeker of refuge in Your greatness, and my transient face has become a seeker of refuge in Your everlasting Face. O best of all those who are petitioned! O most generous of givers! Wrap me in your mercy, clothe me in well-being from You, and avert from me the evil of all Your creation.

Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh reports that the Apostle of God (ṣ) said: When a Muslim stands in the evening of the day of ʿArafāt at its *standing place* facing the qiblah and recites the following: "There is no deity except God Who is Alone with no associate, the dominion and the praise are His, all goodness is from Him and He has power over all things" a hundred times; Sūrah al-Fātiḥah a hundred times; "I bear witness that there is no deity except God Who is Alone with no associate, and Muḥammad is His servant and apostle," a hundred times; "Glory be to God, praise is due to God, there is no deity except God, God is the greatest, there is no power or strength except with God," a hundred times; Sūrah al-Tawḥid a hundred times; and then says, "O God bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad as You blessed Abraham and the family of Abraham, indeed You are the oft-praised, the Magnificent, and shower Your blessings on us together with them," a hundred times; God will certainly say to His angels, "O My angels! What is the reward of this servant of mine: he has glorified Me, glorified My Oneness, greatness and magnificence, introduced My attributes [well], commended Me and invoked blessings on My prophet? Bear witness, O My angels, that I have forgiven him and granted him intercession on behalf of himself, and if he wishes to intercede for the [whole] of the people who are in attendance at the *standing place* (i.e. ʿArafāt) I will grant him intercession."

ʿAbdullāh ibn Masʿūd says that the Apostle of God (ṣ) has said: Whoever supplicates with this supplication in the evening at ʿArafāt, his prayer will be accepted as long as he does not pray for something sinful or the severing of kinship ties. [It is]: Glory be Him Whose throne is in heaven. Glory be to Him Whose pathway is on earth. Glory be to Him Whose route is on the sea. Glory be to Him Whose mercy is in Paradise. Glory be to Him Whose authority is [brought to bear] in the Fire. Glory be to Him Whose spirit is in air. Glory be to Him Who raised the heavens. Glory be to Him Who laid down the earth. Glory be to Him from Whom there is no deliverance except back to Him!

Al-Bayhaqī relates that Bishr ibn Qudāmah al-Ḍabābī said: My eyes saw my beloved, the Apostle of God (ṣ) [doing the rite of] standing at ʿArafāt together with the people. He was mounted on his red she-camel, al-Quṣwā', with a velvet saddlecloth of Bulan manufacture, and he was saying: "O God, make it a pilgrimage that is devoid of hypocrisy; that which will not come to naught." People said: This is [what] the Apostle of God [himself is saying!]

Al-Ṭūsī's *Tahdhīb*: Muḥammad ibn Abī'l-Sahbān narrated from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Ibrāhīm ibn Abī'l-Bilād who said: Abū-Bilāl al-Makkī told me: I saw Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) at ʿArafāt; he had brought with him fifty date stones. He offered his prayers reciting Sūrah al-Tawḥid. He prayed a hundred circles reciting this chapter and closed his prayers with the Verse of the Throne. I said to him, "May I be your ransom! I have never seen anyone from among you praying this prayer in this place before." He said, "No prophet or testamentary legatee (*waṣī*) of a prophet has ever come to this place without praying this prayer."

The fifty date stones the Imam took to ʿArafāt were used to count fifty prayers, each having two circles or prayer units, and the last part of this narration indicates that the Seal of the Prophets (ṣ) had also prayed this prayer because the Imam (ʿa) mentioned the prophets in a general sense.

Another is: O God, You hear my speech, see my position, know my secret and what I reveal, and none of my affairs is concealed from You. I am the miserable, the poor, the one seeking succor and refuge, the frightened and apprehensive, the one who confesses his sins. I entreat You with the entreaty of a meek person, I humbly supplicate to You with the supplication of the humble sinner. I pray to You the prayer of the fearful and distressed one, who wholly submits to You with tears welling up in his eyes in dread, and his whole body in total submission to You. O God, Do not disappoint me in my supplication to You. Be ever gracious to me. O, the best of those who are petitioned. O, the best of givers!

It is narrated that the supplication the Prophet (ṣ) recited most on the day of ʿArafāt was: There is no deity except God Who is Alone with no associate, the dominion and the praise are His, goodness is from Him and He has power over all things.

Where and when did the Prophet stop chanting talbiyah?

Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Khilāf*: The pilgrim stops *talbiyah* in ʿArafāt at noon. Sunni scholars say: He continued chanting *talbiyah* until he stoned the pillar of ʿAqabah on the day of sacrifice.

The origin of this difference exists in the narrations that are reported on this issue. Several Sunni reports say that the Prophet stopped his *talbiyah* at the pillar of ʿAqabah on the day of sacrifice. ʿAbdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī-Shaybah relates: Abū'l-Aḥwas informed us, from Khāṣif, from Mujāhid, who said: Ibn ʿAbbās said that Faḍl ibn ʿAbbās [i.e. his brother] said: I was riding behind the Apostle of God (ṣ) on his mount and I heard him saying *talbiyah* until he stoned the pillar of ʿAqabah. After he stoned it, he stopped chanting it.

Abū-Yaʿlā writes: ʿUbaydullāh ibn ʿUmar informed us, from Yazīd ibn Zarīʿ, from Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, from Abān ibn Ṣāliḥ, from ʿIkrimah who said: I left Muzdalifah together with al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī and he continued saying *labbayka labbayka* until we reached the pillar. I said to him, "Why are you making *talbiyah*, O Abū-ʿAbdullāh?" He replied: I heard my father ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib doing it until he reached the pillar, and he told me that the Apostle of God (ṣ) kept doing *talbiyah* until he reached it.

However, sound *aḥādīth* have been narrated from the path of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) that the Apostle of God (ṣ) stopped *talbiyah* at noon on the ninth day at ʿArafāt, not on the tenth day at Minā by the pillar of ʿAqabah. Al-Kulaynī relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) stopped *talbiyah* at noon of the day of ʿArafāt…

In *Wasā'il al-Shīʿah*, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā reports from his father who related that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) said that the Apostle of God (ṣ) stopped *talbiyah* at noon on the day of ʿArafāt.

I said (that is Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad): We relate that he continued his *talbiyah* until he stoned the pillar of ʿAqabah… and Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) said: Certainly, the Apostle of God (ṣ) stopped *talbiyah* on the day of ʿArafāt at noon.

Another narration: ʿAlī (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) camped in ʿArafāt at Namirah… then he mounted again until he arrived at the *standing place* and he stopped *talbiyah* at noon.

Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration: Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: When it was noontime, the Apostle of God (ṣ) left with his horse after taking a bath and ending *talbiyah*. He moved on until he reached the mosque, where he stopped and exhorted the people, bidding them and forbidding them…

This last group of narrations show that the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt explicitly stated that their grandfather the Apostle of God (ṣ) ended *talbiyah*

at noon on the ninth. However, we are only trying to determine the fact of the matter, otherwise, chanting *talbiyah* is among the highest forms of glorifying the name of God and desirable at all times and places, if it is not regarded as some instruction of the religious law, in which case it would be a fabrication in the name of the Prophet (ṣ).

Which is the day of ʻArafāt?

We could not find any narration reported through the line of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) which indicates on which day the Apostle of God (ṣ) and the other pilgrims stood at ʿArafāt in the Farewell Pilgrimage, or any indirect reference to it, but from the Sunni side, many narrations are related about this issue through Ṭāriq ibn Shihāb. This narrator relates that a Jew said to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb: Surely, if this verse: *Today I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam as your religion*, was sent down to us Jews, and if we knew the day it was sent down, we would have turned it into a holiday.

ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: I know the place, day and time it descended on the Apostle of God (ṣ); we were in ʿArafāt and it was a Friday.

Based on this narration, the standing at ʿArafāt took place on a Friday, so the day of Tarwiyah was a Thursday; the day of Festival occurred on Saturday; the thirteenth, that is, the day the Apostle of God (ṣ) left Minā was a Tuesday; and the day of Ghadīr Khumm was a Sunday. However, many narrations have been related from the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) which show that the Qur'ānic verse mentioned previously was sent down after the Prophet (ṣ) invested ʿAlī (ʿa) as the Commander of the Faithful on the eighteenth of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah at a place called Ghadīr Khumm. Since these numerous narrations are contrary to the single report of Ṭāriq ibn Shihāb on the same subject, it is considered weak and consequently lacking in proof value, and cannot be relied on as a proof.

The Prophet moves from ʻArafāt to Muzdalifah

After the Prophet (ṣ) and the rest of the pilgrims had stood at ʿArafāt from the time he prayed the noon and afternoon prayers until sunset, he moved on together with them to the second *standing place*, Holy Mashʿar (that is Muzdalifah), in compliance with the command of God the Exalted: "*Then when you stream out of ʿArafāt, remember God at the Holy Mashʿar.*" He directed the pilgrims to move with calm and composure.

Al-Kāfī: ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Faḍl ibn Shādhān, from Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, from Muʿāwiyah ibn

ʿAmmār, who narrated that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: The polytheists used to leave ʿArafāt before sunset but the Apostle of God acted contrary to their practice and left it after sunset.

He added: When the sun sets, leave the plain of ʿArafāt together with the people. Move calmly with a dignified bearing, praying for forgiveness, because God has said: *Then stream out from where the people stream out and plead God for forgiveness, indeed God is All-Forgiving, All-Merciful*.

When you reach the red sand hill by the right side of the road, say, "O God, pity my condition, increase my knowledge, save my religion, and accept my rites." Beware of causing commotion as the people do because the Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "O people, the pilgrimage is not [fulfilled] by spurring of horses and rushing of camels." Therefore, fear God and travel at a moderate pace; do not tread on the weak, do not tread on a Muslim, do not be [too] slow or [too] fast, be moderate in the travel because the Apostle of God (ṣ) used to restrain his she-camel to the extent that its head touched the front of the legs [of the rider (or, according to other versions, the front part of the saddle)].

He (i.e. Abū-ʿAbdullāh) used to say: O people, be composed, for the precepts of the Apostle of God (ṣ) are the right thing to follow.

Muʿāwiyah said: I heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying, "O God, emancipate me from the fire," and he kept repeating it until the people left ʿArafāt. I asked him, "Will you not go? The people have departed." He said, "I fear the scramble. I fear that I may have a hand in inconveniencing [even a single] person.

The beginning part of this narration is reported in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* as well, on the authority of Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa).

Abū-Dāwūd narrates that ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbbās said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) left ʿArafāt in a composed bearing with Usāmah riding behind him on the mount. He said, "O people, be composed because righteousness is not gained by urging on horses and camels." I have not seen his she-camel raising its front legs or charging until he reached Jamʿ (that is Muzdalifah).

Al-Bukhārī relates that ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbbās said that he left ʿArafāt together with the Prophet (ṣ) and he heard severe yelling and beating of camels by some people behind him, so he motioned them with his whip and said, "O people, be composed; righteousness is not [attained] by rushing."

Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī says: Abū-Dharr related from Abū-Suwayd ibn Hājar, from his maternal uncle who said that he met the Prophet (ṣ) between

ʿArafāt and Muzdalifah. He said: I took hold of the halter of his camel and said: ʿWhat deed will draw me near Paradise and distance me from the Fire?" He said, "By God, although your question is concise, it is significant and comprehensive. Establish the prescribed prayers, pay the prescribed alms, perform the pilgrimage to the House, do to others what you would like to be done to you and refrain from doing to others what you would not like to be done to you. [Now] release the camel's halter."

Al-Bayhaqī writes: Abū-ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us that he heard from Abū-ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Shaybānī, from Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mubārak, from ʿAbd al-Wārith ibn Saʿīd, from Ibn Jurayḥ, from Muḥammad ibn Qays ibn Makhramah, from al-Miswar ibn Makhramah who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) addressed us at ʿArafāt. He praised and commended God and continued: Polytheists and idol worshippers used to leave this place just before sunset when the sun appears against the hill tops like turbans on the heads of men; our way differs from theirs. They used to leave the Holy Mashʿar at sunrise when the sun appears against the hill tops like turbans on the heads of men; our way differs from theirs.

In another narration, al-Bayhaqī relates that Usāmah ibn Zayd said: I rode behind the Apostle of God (ṣ) on his mount from ʿArafāt and when we reached the mountain path by the left before Muzdalifah he stopped his camel and went to relieve himself. Then I poured water for him and he performed a simple ablution. I said, "Are you going to pray, O Apostle of God?" and he replied, "Prayer [will be performed] later." Then he rode again and moved on until he reached Muzdalifah and prayed there. Then in the morning of Jamʿ, Faḍl rode behind the Apostle of God (ṣ).

In another report, Kurayb said: I said to Usāmah ibn Zayd: Tell me what happened and what you did the evening you rode behind the Apostle of God (ṣ) on his mount.

He replied: We arrived at the mountain path where the travelers halt with their camels for the night rest. The Apostle (ṣ) stopped there and went to relieve himself. Then he asked for ablution water and made an ablution that was not so elaborate. I said, "O Apostle of God, prayer?" and he said, "Prayer will come later." Then he mounted again and we moved on until we arrived at Muzdalifah, where he prayed the sunset prayer. The people made their camels kneel down but they did not untie their luggage until he prayed the night prayer.

Kurayb said: I said: What did you do in the morning?

He said: Faḍl rode with him and I went on foot with the advance party of Qurayshites.

Al-Kāfī: Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa) said: When the morning came, the Apostle of God (ṣ) left Minā through the route of Dubb and on returning he passed by way of al-Ma'zimayn. It was his practice that when he followed a route he did not return by it.

Shaykh Ṣadūq relates that Sulaymān ibn Mihrān said: I said to Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa), "How many times did the Apostle of God (ṣ) go on?"

"Twenty times in concealment and [each time] he passed by al-Ma'zimayn, he dismounted and relieved himself," he replied.

I said, "O Son of God's Apostle, why did he dismount and urinate there often?"

He said, "Because it was the first place in which idols were worshipped and the stone that was curved into the idol Hubal was taken from it. [Hubal was the idol] which ʿAlī (ʿa) threw down from the top of the Kaʿbah when he stood on the back of the Apostle of God (ṣ) who later ordered that it should be buried at the entrance of Bāb Banī-Shaybah and, on that account, entering the Kaʿbah by this door became desirable practice (*sunnah*)…"

The Prophet at the Holy Mash'ar

On reaching the Mashʿar al-Ḥarām, the Apostle of God (ṣ) stopped there and prayed the sunset and night prayers together and in shortened form with one adhān and an iqāmah for each. Al-Ṭūsī relates that Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd has related from Zurʿah, from Sumāʿah who said: I asked him concerning joining the sunset prayer with the night prayer at Jamʿ, and he said: Do not offer them until you reach Jamʿ, even if some part of the night passes. The Apostle of God (ṣ) joined them with one adhān and two iqāmah, as he joined the noon prayer with the afternoon prayer at ʿArafāt.

Although this narration does not mention the one who was asked it is sound, because in all his narrations Sumāʿah enquires only from the Imams (ʿa). Moreover, in the report in question the identity of the person to whom the question was put was clear, because Sumāʿah had mentioned the Imam (ʿa) in the previous narrations, and since this one follows the others, he simply added *I asked him* referring to the same Imam (ʿa), and the narration subsequently found its way to the works of *aḥādīth* with this allusion.

Daʿā'im al-Islām: ʿAlī (ʿa) said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) left ʿArafāt he did not stop until he reached Muzdalifah, then he prayed the sunset and night

prayers together with one adhān and two iqāmah.

In another narration, Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) prayed, he joined the sunset and the night prayers and then lay down for rest. He did not pray in the night after that; he slept and woke up at dawn.

In the Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration, Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: Then he moved [out of the ʿArafāt plain] and instructed the people to move calmly. He arrived at Muzdalifah, which is the Holy Mashʿar, and prayed the sunset and night prayers there with one adhān and an iqāmah for each. Then he rested there until he prayed the dawn prayer.

Describing the way the prayers are offered at Muzdalifah, Shaykh Ṭūsī writes in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* and *al-Istibṣār* that Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: The sunset and night prayers at Jamʿ are offered with one adhān and two iqāmah [one for each prayer], with no prayers between the two. This is how the Apostle of God (ṣ) prayed.

Al-Faqīh: When the Prophet (ṣ) halted at Jamʿ, people scrambled [to stand by] the hooves of his she-camel, so, as he stood, stretched out his hand to indicate and said: Here I stand, and all this is the place of standing.

As we mentioned previously, the Prophet (ṣ) prayed earnestly at Muzdalifah for the forgiveness of those who had wronged others and against whom there were outstanding claims, and God Almighty accepted his prayers. We are going to mention more reports on this action of the Prophet (ṣ) at Muzdalifah. It is reported in *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, that Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ related that the Prophet (ṣ) said to him the following morning at Muzdalifah, "O Bilāl, silence the people." [When he did], he continued: God has been generous to you on this day; He has forgiven the good-doers among you and granted them intercession for the offenders among you, and accepted their (the good-doers) prayers. So go forth in the name of God.

In Jābir's narration in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*: The Prophet (ṣ) stood at ʿArafāt until the sun set and the twilight partially disappeared, then he rode Usāmah behind him on his camel and started off [towards Muzdalifah], pulling the halter of al-Quṣwā' so tight that the animal's head almost touched the front part of the saddle. Then he raised his right hand and said, "O people! Calm down, calm down!" Whenever he came to a dune he relaxed the grip to allow the camel to ascend it with ease. When he reached Muzdalifah, he prayed the sunset and night prayers together with one adhān and two iqāmah and he did not say any words of glorification between the two prayers. Then

he lay down to sleep and woke up at dawn and prayed the dawn prayer with one adhān and one iqāmah. Then he rode on al-Quṣwā' and moved to the Holy Mashʿar, faced the direction of the qiblah and embarked on supplicating to God and mentioning His greatness and oneness. He continued standing there until the sky became very bright, and left before the sun had risen, with Faḍl ibn ʿAbbās riding behind him on his mount, who was a handsome man with beautiful hair and fair complexion. As they proceeded, a troop of camels conveying women in camel-borne sedans passed by them and Faḍl began gazing at the ladies, so the Apostle of God (ṣ) placed his hand over Faḍl's face. Then Faḍl turned his face to the other side and looked again, and the Apostle moved his hand to that side and covered Faḍl's face again and turned it away. When they reached the valley of Muḥassir the Apostle of God (ṣ) urged on his camel for a while. Then he took the middle way which led to the big Pillar until he reached it…

The Prophet (ṣ) gave some groups the concession of leaving Muzdalifah and performing the stoning at night. Al-Kulaynī relates: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Ḥafṣ ibn al-Bukhtarī, from Abū-Baṣīr, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) permitted women and the weak to move from Jamʿ and perform the stoning of the Pillar at night, and if they wished to go to the House [at night] they could assign someone to slaughter their sacrificial animals for them.

Another reads says: From a number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd, from Abū'l-Mighrā, from Abū-Baṣīr, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) permitted women and children to leave [Muzdalifah] and do the stoning of the Pillars at night and pray the morning prayer in their lodging places. In case a woman was expecting her period, she could move on to Makkah and assign someone to do the sacrifice on her behalf.

Al-Kāfī: From Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad, from Muʿallā ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Washshā', from Abān ibn ʿUthmān, from Saʿīd al-Sammān who said: I heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying: The Apostle of God (ṣ) instructed the women to move earlier from Muzdalifah to Minā at night. He asked those who had to offer the sacrifice to do the stoning and not to wait until they had slaughtered their animal, and that those who did not have to offer the sacrifice should return to Makkah for the visit without delay.

In the same vein, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* reads: ʿĀ'ishah said: When we stopped at Muzdalifah, Sawdah [another of his wives] sought the Prophet's permission to leave before the rush of the people, (she being slow by nature). He granted

her request, so she set off before the people rushed, while we remained there until morning and went together with him. Had I sought the Apostle of God's leave as Sawdah did, it would have been much more agreeable for me."

Al-Kulaynī also reports: From a number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from ʿAlī ibn Nuʿmān, from Saʿīd al-Aʿraj who said: I said to Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa), "May I be your ransom! There are women among us; can I accompany them to leave Muzdalifah at night?"

"Yes," he said. "Do you want to do as the Apostle of God (ṣ) did?"

I said, "Yes, I do."

He (ʿa) said, "Move with them by night but first stand with them at Jamʿ, then accompany them to the great Jamarah to enable them do the stoning. If they do not have to slaughter [the sacrifice], let them clip their hair and their fingernails; let them continue to Makkah where they should circumambulate the House, make the circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah, come back to the House again and circumambulate seven times and return to Minā. With this, they will have completed their ḥajj. [During his time,] the Apostle of God (ṣ) sent Usāmah with the women."

In *Sunan*, al-Bayhaqī writes that Ibn ʿAbbās said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) sent us forward with the boys of Banū-ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib on the night of Muzdalifah. He said: O my children, do not do the stoning until the sun rises.

Another narration of *Sunan*: ʿUrwah ibn Mudarras ibn Aws ibn Ḥārithah ibn Lām went on pilgrimage during the days of the Apostle of God (ṣ), and met the people at Jamʿ, so he went to ʿArafāt the same night and returned to Jamʿ. Then he went to the Apostle (ṣ) and said, "O Apostle of God, I have exhausted myself and my mount [and performed what you performed before me], is my pilgrimage in order?"

The Apostle (ṣ) replied: Whoever prays the [tomorrow's] morning prayer together with us and stands with us until we move on, if he had done the duty of ʿArafāt prior to that, either at night by day, his pilgrimage is deemed complete, and he has done away with his untidiness.

Shaykh Ṭūsī relates that Mūsā ibn Qāsim narrated from Ibrāhīm al-Asadī, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: Then move [out of Muzdalifah] when the sun shines on Thābir and the camels can see where their hooves tread. The people of the pre-Islamic era used to say, "Thābir has appeared so that we may make assault (i.e. the sun has shone on it so we can leave Muzdalifah)." The Apostle of God (ṣ) moved out of

Muzdalifah in a different fashion from that of the pre-Islamic Arabs; they used to stream out of Muzdalifah spurring their horses and camels in a rush, but the Apostle of God (ṣ) moved sedately. Therefore, you should move out of Muzdalifah glorifying God and seeking His forgiveness; let your tongue be thus engaged. When you arrive at the valley of Muḥassir, which is a wide valley situated between Jamʿ and Minā but nearer to the latter, hasten your pace as you traverse it because the Apostle of God (ṣ) had urged on his camel in this place. As he passed through it he prayed, "O God, preserve my pledge, accept my repentance, grant my prayers and be the protector of my people whom I have left behind."

This narration is also related in al-Ṣadūq's *'Ilal al-Sharā'i'*, to the point the Imam said: …let your tongue be thus engaged.

A discussion on glorifying God during the time of pilgrimage

Glorifying God and expressing gratitude for His infinite bounties are among the teachings of the prophets, saints, testamentary legatees of prophets (*awṣiyā'*), scholars and other God-fearing people. *Dhikr*, that is, remembering God and glorifying His name, is one of the pillars of the Islamic monotheistic call. Propagators of the divine message often urge the people to adhere to God's laws and remember and glorify Him at all times and places, especially in holy places and special periods that are in some way specially associated with worship. Thus several Qur'ānic verses invite us to the mentioning of God's name, express how the prophets of old had called their people to it, and God's instructions to His servants with regard to glorifying His name. Similarly, the narrations that come down from the Imams of guidance (ʿa) on this issue are copious.

On the great position of remembrance of God, my esteemed teacher Ayatollah Ḥasanzādeh 'Āmulī has this to say: God Almighty considers a little of every [form of worship] as adequate and He placed a limit for it. For instance, He obliged us to pray five prayers a day, to fast during the month of Ramaḍān, to pay the zakāt when our property reached the minimum prescribed amount, but He did not assign a limit for *dhikr*. Surely, God Almighty did not assign a specific amount for *dhikr*; He urges the believers in many places in the Qur'ān to do much of it, such as: *O you who have faith, remember God with frequent remembrance*, and: *And remember God greatly so that you may be felicitous.*

Now what is the meaning of this remembrance that the Book and the Sunnah incessantly urge the believers to observe? In his *Mufradāt*, under the entry: *dh-k-r*, al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī writes: There are two types of *dhikr*: *dhikr* of

the heart and *dhikr* of the tongue, and each type has two categories: *dhikr* that brings one out of forgetfulness and *dhikr* not associated with forgetfulness, one that implies continuity of retention. [Qur'ānic verses] that allude to *dhikr* of both the heart and the tongue include the following: *Then remember God as you remember your fathers or with a more ardent remembrance*, and: *remember God at the Holy Mash'ar*.

Al-Dharī'ah fī Makārim al-Sharī'ah: "*Dhikr* denotes the existence of a thing in the heart or on the tongue and this is so because a thing has four levels of existence: its innate existence, its existence in the human heart, its verbal existence and its written existence. Its innate existence is the origin of its existence in the heart which, in turn, is the source of its verbal and written existences. The two levels, i.e. that in the heart and that on the tongue are called *dhikr* (or remembrance), and the remembrance by the tongue is not something to be reckoned with if it does not derive from the remembrance of the heart; alone, it is nothing."

The remembrance of the heart is also of two types. One is the recalling of what had been kept by the heart but later obscured by forgetfulness or inattention. This is, in fact, to remember. The second is the continuity of the existence of something in the heart without being affected by forgetfulness or inattention. Saints do not consider the first type of remembering God satisfactory; it is the second type of remembrance that is praiseworthy.

Sometimes remembrance of God is caused by the sense of His greatness and inspires awe and the palpability of His grandeur. Sometimes it is caused by the sense of divine power and instills the mind with fear and grief. Sometimes it derives from the cognizance of His bounties, which begets gratitude, and that is why the mentioning of a blessing is an expression of gratitude for it. Sometimes it ensues from the observation of His marvelous acts and brings about reflection.

Therefore, it is proper that a Muslim should always be remembering Him in one of these ways, and this is what the following verse of the Qur'ān teaches: '*Indeed in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of night and day; there are signs for those who possess intellect. Those who remember God standing, sitting and lying on their sides, and reflect on the creation of the heavens and the earth [and say]: Our Lord, You have not created this in vain! Immaculate are You! Save us from the punishment of the Fire.*' This means that they remember their Lord in all situations, because a human being always falls within these three categories.

In the duty of pilgrimage, the importance of venerability of place and time

has been combined for the purpose of remembering God Almighty, and, through many verses of the Qur'ān, He has invited His servants to glorify Him in these venerable holy places during the days in which they *stand* in them for pilgrimage. The following are among the verses of the Qur'ān that urge people to glorify God, '*For every nation We have appointed a rite that they might mention God's name over the livestock He has provided them.*' With these words He has reminded the Muslims that the legislation of pilgrimage rites as part of the duties of worship had a precedent among the earlier generations and bygone ages. Then He addressed the community of Muḥammad (ṣ), saying, '*Then when you stream out of 'Arafāt remember God at the Holy Mash'ar...*' by engaging in His glorification, mentioning His greatness and Oneness, chanting the words of commendation and supplicating to Him. He calls on them: '*We have appointed for you the [sacrificial] camels as one of God's sacraments. There is good for you in them so mention the name of God over them as they stand.*' The Almighty calls on the last of divinely guided communities, i.e. the Muslim community thus: '*When you finish your rites then remember God as you remember your fathers or with a more ardent remembrance.*' In another place, God enjoins the followers of the best of religions (i.e. Islam) to *remember God in the appointed days.* To sum up, God has encouraged the Muslims, through these clear and beautiful speeches, to perform the activities of the ḥajj season '*so that they may witness its benefits for them and mention the name of God, during the known days, over the livestock He has provided them.*'

We have been commanded to remember and mention his name in specific days in order to develop in us the habit of his remembrance in all situations: in difficulty or in ease, in poverty or in affluence, in well-being in sickness; and so that we abide by His way and His religion until the end of time.

Now the choice of Makkah and her environs as the site for the pilgrimage calls for reflection. Why must the intending pilgrim leave his family, his loved ones and his country, that is perhaps beautiful with rich lands and luxurious vegetation traversed by rivers and streams, and travel to Makkah, which is situated amidst a rugged terrain whose mountains are rendered even darker by the sheer heat of the sun; a country which is bordered by a large expanse of desert and wasteland that bears no corn fields, meadows or water sources? Surely a country like this is hardly a suitable place for holiday, tourism or similar pastimes, where people long to pass their time in pleasure. Nevertheless, the Creator of all beings has chosen Makkah, an area with those grim features to be the venue of this great gathering. The question here is, why did God choose it for the pilgrimage and for what category of

people? Of the whole wide earth, the Almighty has chosen this place to become the focal point of His bondservants, that they may set aside all worldly concerns, that they may severe all mundane ties with fellow humans and give their undivided attention to God, their Creator, Lord, Benefactor and Guide. God chose this place for those of His servants who would approach Him with their whole being to partake of His overflowing grace.

In this regard, Shaykh Abū'l-Futūḥ relates, in his commentary on the Holy Qur'ān, that Ibn ʿAbbās maintained that for every obligation God enjoins, He assigns a limit and, in certain conditions, He accepts excuses for failure to comply, but in the case of His remembrance He assigns no limit nor does He accept any excuse on noncompliance, barring a situation where a person is out of his senses.

Perhaps it is not out of place to mention a few narrations that portray the wisdom behind the pilgrimage or some of its parts.

The Apostle of God (ṣ) says, "Circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah and throwing stones at the Pillars are only prescribed for the remembrance of God." The Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) was asked, "Why did the Holy Mashʿar (i.e. Muzdalifah) become part of the holy precincts?"

He replied, "Because when He gave them (the pilgrims) the permission to enter [into the courtyard of His House] He stopped them by the second screen, and when their entreaty at it is prolonged, He grants them the permission to offer their sacrifices."

Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said, "If you can keep vigil the whole of that night, do so, for we have heard that the doors of heaven will not be closed that night on account of the believers' voices of prayer. They have a sound like the buzzing of bees. God, great is His praise, will say, 'I am your Lord and you are My servants. You have discharged your duty toward Me and it is incumbent upon Me to answer your prayers.' And in that night He will forgive the sins those whose sins He wishes to forgive and pardon those whom He wishes to pardon."

In another narration the Imam (ʿa) said, "When performing the rite of *standing* glorify God's praises and mention His blessings and His trials as much as you can, and invoke blessings on the Prophet (ṣ)."

In al-Shiblī's narration, he said that Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) asked him, "When you walked in Muzdalifah and picked the pebbles did you intend thereby that all sin and ignorance be removed from you and all knowledge and good deeds be established in you?"

He replied, "No."

Then the Imam said, "When you passed through the Holy Mashʿar did it impart the perception of the God-fearing to your heart and imbue it with the fear of God, the Mighty and Sublime…?"

There are many narrations that have been reported in connection with the secrets of ḥajj and its individual rites and all of them stress the need to have a firm belief that we are in the presence of Almighty God, so that we may give an account of our deeds before Him at His holy House before the coming of the Day of Reckoning, when we shall be called to account. One wonders why there is lack of proper attention for these spiritual instructions with regard to the ḥajj, even the special treatises on pilgrimage rites are silent on these, although the Qur'ān has mentioned them.

Is a specific formula necessary for dhikr in ḥajj?

The instruction for pilgrims to remember God at the venerated places is mentioned in a number of Qur'ānic verses:

Remember God at the Holy Mashʿar.

When you finish your rites then remember God as you remember your fathers or with a more ardent remembrance.

Remember God in the appointed days.

And [let them] mention the name of God, during the known days.

Then stream out from where the people stream out and plead God for forgiveness.

Likewise, many narrations that depict the pilgrim's devotions, glorifying and supplicating to God, have been recorded in the *aḥādīth* literature and perhaps it is apt to cite some of them here.

Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration as recorded by al-Kulaynī and al-Ṭūsī, reports that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: Commence the morning in ritual purity. After praying the dawn prayer stand near the hill, if you wish, or anywhere else you want. When you take your place, praise and commend God, the Mighty and Sublime, then recount his blessings and trials as much as you can and invoke blessings on the Prophet (ṣ). Let your supplication include this: O God, Lord of the Holy Mashʿar, deliver me from the bondage [of the punishment] of the Fire. Make bountiful for me the provisions You have made lawful and ward off from me the evil of the wicked from among jinn and men…

In *Daʿā'im al-Islām*, Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said that when the Apostle of God (ṣ) performed the Morning Prayer at Jamʿ on the Day of Sacrifice, he mounted al-Quṣwā' and moved on until he reached the Holy Mashʿar. He ascended it, faced the direction of the Kaʿbah and he glorified God, chanting His greatness (*takbīr*), the formula of monotheism (*lā'ilāha'illā'llāhu*) and His oneness.

In another narration, Abū-Baṣīr reported the case of two men who, out of ignorance, stood at Muzdalifah for only a part of the whole night, and proceeded to Minā. Abū-Baṣīr said: On the day of the festival I asked the Imam what the law says concerning their case and he replied, "Did they not pray the Morning Prayer at Muzdalifah?"

I said, "They did."

Then he asked, "Did they not do the supplication of *qunūt* in their prayers?"

I said, "They did."

Then he said, "Their pilgrimage is complete," and remarked, "The Mashʿar is part of Muzdalifah and Muzdalifah is part of Mashʿar, and, as for supplication, a little will do for them."

Despite all this emphasis by God and His saintly servants on the importance of remembering God at the holy sites of ḥajj, most jurists did not rule that it is mandatory. Some rare exceptions include Qāḍī Ibn al-Barrāj, who writes that what is obligatory is to stand at it (i.e. Muzdalifah), mention God and invoke blessings on the Prophet and his family, upon whom be peace.

In the same vein, al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī says: "It is also said that remembering God is obligatory by virtue of the apparent imperative form [of the way the Qur'ān mentioned it], and this opinion carries some weight."

On his part, after quoting al-Kāshānī's opinion, al-Narāqī comments, "And that is the case because of the apparent meaning of the Most High's words and also the apparent import of the imperative case that is employed in the narrations."

The failure of the majority of jurists to count the issue of remembrance of God at the venerated places, could be somehow justified if we consider that the importance of mentioning God in these places is above that of *obligation* of juristic parlance. Indeed, for the activities of pilgrimage, remembrance of God and attention to Him is the basis and, should a person stand in these places without seeking proximity to God, if he had come to Makkah only for a tour and to watch the Muslims as they perform their ḥajj and their worship,

he is definitely not counted as a pilgrim who has come to discharge a duty that is prescribed by God. However, since the pilgrims are not all on the same plane with respect to their worship and remembrance of God, the value of their deeds cannot be the same either; they differ according to their strength of personal faith and their level of attention to God.

It is well known in Islamic narrations that *remembrance of God is the essence of worship and the soul of deeds*. Now, since by this remembrance, it is not the motion of the tongue that is intended but the work of the heart, we can say that it is also possible that the remembrance of God may not necessarily be done by the conscious action of the heart; it could be simply a strong presence of the subtle quality of evoking God in the mind. For instance, should one come for the pilgrimage and stand at the stations without mentioning anything of the glorification of God, without this even occurring to him in his thought, such as where something occurs that makes him forget both verbal and mental remembrances, but in the deepest recesses of his heart he considers his presence in these stations a means to be among those who remember God the Most High, then he is among them. Certainly, those whose attention is directed to God in the deep recesses of their hearts, remember Him in their hearts, and are not forgetful of Him, and mention His name with their tongues as well, have surely attained the highest station of *dhikr* or remembrance.

To return to the question of whether remembrance of God in the holy places is obligatory or not, we shall mention below other Shīʿite jurists who consider it obligatory. Based on the edition of the lessons delivered by Sayyid Muḥammad al-Dāmād, this scholar is reported to have said:

> It is a well known ruling that supplication in Mashʿar is recommended and this is what can be deduced from the words of the author (i.e. the author of *Sharā'iʿ al-Islām*), which Sayyid al-Dāmād appeared to have referred to in his discussions) where he said, "It is recommended to stand after offering the dawn prayer and also to supplicate." It is considered obligatory by some scholars such as al-Ḥalabī and al-Qāḍī, who said in *Mustanad al-Shīʿah* that this opinion is strong. The view that remembrance is recommended is untenable from two angles. Firstly, whether, in the first place, it is obligatory or recommended and, secondly, if it is obligatory, whether the obligatory remembrance is to recite the prescribed supplications, or any verbal remembrance without comprising the supplications, not to talk of the prescribed forms, or is it specifically the mental remembrance, as *Jawāhir al-Kalām* maintains, that is possible?

To start with the first angle, it is obvious that what can be deduced from the Qur'ān and Sunnah is obligation. In the Qur'ān, the apparent meaning of God's saying, "*remember God at the Holy Mashʿar*" indicates that this is obligatory because of the absence of any indicator on the contrary. In the second part we shall talk on what is meant by *dhikr* /remembrance. As for the Sunnah, this rule is established by a narration related by Muḥammad ibn Ḥakīm who said, "I said to Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa), 'May God preserve you! A non-Arab and a weak woman travel with a Bedouin cameleer. When he moved them from ʿArafāt he took them to Minā without making them dismount at Jamʿ.' He said, 'Did they not pray there (i.e. at Jamʿ)?' I said, 'What if they did not pray there?' He said, 'They must have mentioned God, if they did that, it would be adequate.'" This apparently signifies that remembrance is obligatory because of how he described it as the cause of adequacy. As for asking first if they had prayed, it was because prayer comprises remembrance, the performance of which is the performance of what is obligatory, since its mention was apparent.

It is in this vein what Ibn Miskān relates, that Abū-Baṣīr said, "I said to Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa), 'May I be your ransom! These two companions of mine did not know that they should stand at Muzdalifah [what should they do]?' He said, 'Let them return and stand at Mashʿar for a while.' I said, 'No one informed them about this until this day when the people had already left.' Then he bowed his head a little and said, 'Did they not pray the morning prayer at Muzdalifah?' I answered, 'Yes, they did.' Then he said, 'Did they not recite the *qunūt* in their prayers?' I said, 'Yes, they did.' He said, 'Their pilgrimage is complete,' and remarked, 'The Mashʿar is part of Muzdalifah and Muzdalifah is part of Mashʿar, and, as for supplication, a little is enough for them.' The restrictive sense (*ḥaṣr*) employed to denote the adequacy [of supplication, as seen in the Arabic original which employed *innamā*] is an apparent indicator of obligation in a stronger sense than what obtains in the previous citations. It shows that the supplication is obligatory although the adequacy of a little of it is another question entirely.

Al-Ṣadūq probably paraphrases the narration when he relates, 'It has been reported concerning those who are unaware of the standing at Mashʿar, that the *qunūt* of the morning prayer is sufficient for them, and a little supplication is enough.'

In any case, what is indicated in the apparent meanings of the

passages of the Book and Sunnah, is obligation, although it is not a well known view, nay it is considered a rare opinion.

On the second angle of looking at the type of obligatory remembrance, what naturally appears to be intended is the verbal type rather than that of the heart, which is the hidden attention of the servant of God toward the Knower of his secrets, although this usage is also not rare in the Book and Sunnah. Therefore, the possibility of intending the remembrance of the heart, which includes intention as well, is not implausible as maintained in *Jawāhir al-Kalām*.

The question is whether the verbal remembrance is the specific requirement (*muta'ayyin*) even if it does not contain the normal supplications in which one entreats for needs and fortunes, or the supplication is the specific requirement even where it does not comprise the clear mention of God's name. This is the contention, keeping in view that a supplication in which there is mention of God is certainly adequate.

On examination, to consider supplication as adequate appears to be the stronger view. Perhaps the point in mentioning *dhikr* (i.e. remembrance, as the requirement) is that remembrance usually contains supplication, just as supplication is normally not devoid of remembrance. The result is that the inseparability of the two (i.e. supplication and glorification) in most cases entails that each comprises the other, so that a supplication would suffice even if what is recited is not the prescribed form. Therefore, it becomes obvious that it is obligatory in principle but even the least amount of it is adequate."

His (Sayyid Muḥammad al-Dāmād's) student, the contemporary jurist Sayyid Mūsā al-Shīrāzī al-Zanjānī has followed his footsteps on this question by issuing his legal opinion that remembrance is obligatory in Holy Mashʿar.

The saintly servants of God (i.e. the Imams, (ʿa) have instructed us to recite specific supplications at those venerated places. These supplications are very many therefore we shall only mention a few. One is the supplication of Imam Ḥusayn (ʿa) at ʿArafāt, which is long, eloquent and deep in meaning, and comprises lofty teachings regarding monotheism. Another is the supplication of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ʿa) at ʿArafāt, which is known as the Supplication of the Station, and another called the Supplication of the Day of ʿArafāt, which is the 47th supplication of *al-*

Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyah, a collection of the supplications of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (ʿa). We mentioned the Prophet's supplication which he recited when he stood at ʿArafāt.

However, no specific formula for supplication is obligatory in these blessed places and everyone implores the Immaculate Lord according to the level of his intellect, knowledge and spiritual accomplishment. Perhaps one's disposition and mood at those places could be more eloquent a supplication than what is uttered with the tongue, just as the hidden *dhikr* is often superior to the oral *dhikr* or remembrance. A large number of narrations have been reported from the Prophet (ṣ) and his progeny, that emphasize the fact that the pilgrims, after leaving ʿArafāt, should offer their sunset and night prayers at the Holy Mashʿar, even if a third of the night might pass. This is one of the instances of mentioning the name of God at the Holy Mashʿar.

Indeed the most fundamental issue in the rites of pilgrimage is to bring one's mind into the divine presence and to tune one's heart for that purpose, in compliance with the Prophet's saying, "The heart is God's sanctuary, so do not allow other than God to dwell in God's sanctuary." The purpose is to enable us to plead to Him from the very depths of our hearts that are characterized by darkness, delusions, conjectures, apprehensions, and desires, and utter the liberating confession: "There is no deity except You, You are Immaculate! I have indeed been among the wrongdoers!"

We should be able to invoke God with the whole of our existence, in open and in secret, with our bodies and our spirits.

Unfortunately, the pilgrims have largely forgotten this significant purpose of pilgrimage; they have engrossed themselves in only the outward rites: circumambulation of the House, circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah, standing at ʿArafāt and Muzdalifah and such others, all this under the influence of doubts and inordinate precaution that is both misplaced and detrimental. On top of all this, it is not necessary to utter specific words for the remembrance; the important thing is to glorify God the Exalted by mentioning His beautiful names and lofty attributes, and asking for His unbounded blessings and the fulfillment of needs and desires.

A question arises here: what is the reason behind the difference in expression in urging the believers to glorify God? In some verses of the Qur'ān, the Most High says, '*Remember (mention) God*' and in others, '*Remember (mention) the name of God*,' in the first group He instructs us to mention Him while in the second, to mention His Name. What is the reason for this difference? ʿAllāmah al-Shaʿrānī suggests the following explanation:

> In every verse of the Qur'ān where the *mentioning* is associated with God's name it is the verbal mentioning of His name that is required, like in the case of slaughtering animals, so that mentioning God in the heart will not be sufficient; it is mandatory to mention the name of God with the tongue. And in every verse where the *mentioning* is associated with God and not with His name, what is required is the mentioning with the heart whether one utters it verbally or not.

The word *ism* (name) as the first noun of a genitive construction where *Allah* is the second (i.e. *ism Allah*) has occurred in two cases in the Qur'ān. The first is where the subject is the slaughtering of animals for food, such as verses 28, 34 and 36 of Sūrah al-Ḥajj, verses 118,119,121 and 138 of Sūrah al-Anʿām and verse 4 of Sūrah al-Mā'idah. The second is where the subject is the mosque or other places of worship that are built for the worship of God and glorifying His name. Such verses include verse 114 of Sūrah al-Baqarah, verse 36 of Sūrah al-Nūr and verse 40 of Sūrah al-Ḥajj. In both these cases the command pertains to the verbal mention of the name of God because it is a form of announcement that this animal, for instance, is slaughtered in God's name and not in the name of idols or so-and-so person worships God in the mosque, that is, he does not worship false deities. In any other place *dhikr* is mentioned in the Qur'ān, what is intended is focusing one attention on thinking about God so verbal utterances are not important in this case.

A word on "The Known Days" and "The Appointed Days"

With regard to the pilgrimage, God the Exalted says, "*Remember God in the appointed days. Then, whoever hastens off in a couple of days, there is no sin upon him and whoever delays there is no sin upon him—for one who has been God-fearing.*" And: "*And, proclaim the ḥajj to people: they shall come to you on foot and on lean camels from distant places, that they may witness its benefits for them, and mention God's name during the known days over the livestock He has provided them. So eat thereof and feed the destitute.*"

Are *the known days* different from *the appointed days* or are they the same? What is meant by these days? There is disagreement in the reports that have been related as well as the opinions expressed concerning these days. Some say that *the known days* are the first ten days of the Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and *the appointed days* are the Days of Tashrīq (11^{th}, 12^{th} and 13^{th} of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah) while others maintain the opposite: *the known days* being the Days of Tashrīq and *the appointed days*, the first ten days of the month. I have not found a single reliable narration that explains what specific days they are. Therefore, based on the rule of commentary and explication, we can say that

both are one and the same set of days and the difference in designation does not entail a difference in the days for which the two titles are applicable.

God the Most High has described the known days as such, although they are not known to us (the later generations of Muslims) but, at the time the noble verses were revealed, the polytheists used to converge on Makkah for the pilgrimage and stand at the holy places and do their other activities from the 9th to the 13th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, and these days were known to both the polytheists and the early Muslims. Moreover, there is no other set of days within the months of pilgrimage that are known as such, apart from these days, so the designation *known days* limits them to the days from the 9th to the 13th. Thus the fact that these days were known was no subject of contention.

In addition, the previously quoted verse, *And proclaim the ḥajj to people: they shall come to you on foot and on lean camels from distant places*, fits these five days and not the first ten days of the month, unless we say that in the first ten most pilgrims will be on their way to the Ancient House of God, so their condition would be as if they were engaged in glorifying God, since their intention is to participate in the ḥajj and its rites.

And the words, *that they may witness its benefits for them and mention the name of God* points to the reasons behind instituting the pilgrimage, which are twofold:

1. To witness the immense benefits which God has placed in the ḥajj; such as, the opportunity of attending the places He has chosen for His worship, acquainting oneself with the general conditions of Muslims in various countries, working toward achieving Muslim unity and thwarting the divisive machinations of polytheists and atheists, and drawing plans for the achievement of an advanced, healthy, comprehensive way of living that can guarantee a life of happiness in this and the next worlds.

2. To glorifying God by mentioning His lofty names and noble attributes in the home of monotheism, in God's sanctuary in which His prophets and saints implored Him for His favors. In addition, the saying of God, *that they might mention God's name over the livestock He has provided them,* shows that it is obligatory to mention the name of God when slaughtering the sacrificial animals when performing the ḥajj rites.

These two reasons: witnessing the bounties and remembering God, are an integral part of the pilgrims' activities from the 9th day to the 13th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, but not in the first ten. None of these two sets of days fits into the first ten days of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah because many pilgrims would still be on their

way to Makkah during some of these ten days; the Apostle of God (ṣ) himself reached Makkah on the 4th of the month. Therefore, in the first ten days the pilgrims would hardly have settled and had enough rest after the strain of journey, to be able to devote themselves to the remembrance of God.

As for the *appointed days*, we can say that they are also the same days during which most of the activities of pilgrimage are performed; that is from the 9th to the 13th. This view finds support in the verses that precede the mention of this term that is the verses: *Ḥajj [season] is in months well-known; so whoever decides on pilgrimage therein [should know that] there is to be no sexual contact, vicious talk, or disputing during ḥajj… Then when you stream out of ʿArafāt remember God at the Holy Mashʿar, and remember Him as He guided you, and earlier indeed you were among the astray. Then stream out from where the people stream out*. The time to comply with these instructions is the days of ḥajj and no other, and that is the period from the 9th to the 13th, and the first ten days of the month are not related to these activities. Likewise, after the mention of *the appointed days* the verse in which this expression appears, continues: *Then whoever hastens off in a couple of days there is no sin upon him and whoever delays there is no sin upon him.* What is meant by these two or three days is the Days of Tashrīq: 11th, 12th and 13th which are spent in Minā. What is mentioned before this sentence and after it pertains to the period of the 9th to the 13th so why should it not refer to them, as well? *Appointed days* (or *numbered days*), mean a few days, while *the known days* mean the days that are known to the people, and both descriptions match the period of 9th to 13th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, which alone is called *season* or *the ḥajj season*, therefore a difference in expression does not necessitate a difference in the thing that is referred to. Thus, these days are few and known.

The terms Holy Mash'ar, Muzdalifah, Jam', and Quzaḥ

In a set of narrations concerning pilgrimage in which these names are mentioned, there is a feeling that they refer to the same place, while other narrations show that there is difference between the Holy Mashʿar, Muzdalifah and Jamʿ. Are the three names of three places, or one place, or the same place, but each indicates a different limit of the area to which it refers?

The holy Qur'ān mentions this place only once: *Then when you stream out of ʿArafāt remember God at the Holy Mashʿar*. In *ḥadīth*, al-Kulaynī relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from

Muʿāwiyah and Ḥammād, from al-Ḥalabī, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa), who said: Do not pray the sunset prayer until you reach Jamʿ, then offer it together with the night prayer with one adhān and an iqāmah for each, then camp in the middle of the valley, to the right of the road, near the Mashʿar. It is recommended for the pilgrim, who is doing the ḥajj for the first time, to stand at the Holy Mashʿar and tread on it with his feet, and it is not permissible to go beyond al-Ḥiyāḍ in the night of Muzdalifah. He should say: O God…

In Jābir's lengthy report he says: The Prophet (ṣ) moved on until he reached Muzdalifah, where he prayed the sunset and night prayers with one adhān and two iqāmah, and he did not say any words of glorification between the two prayers. Then he lay down until dawn and woke up and prayed the dawn prayer with one adhān and one iqāmah. Then he mounted al-Quṣwā' and moved to the Holy Mashʿar, faced the direction of qiblah (i.e. the Kaʿbah) and embarked on supplicating to God and mentioning His greatness and oneness. He continued standing there until the sky became very bright, and left before the sun had risen, riding behind him on his mount, Faḍl ibn ʿAbbās.

In *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) has related that when the Prophet (ṣ) performed the Morning Prayer at Jamʿ on the Day of Sacrifice, he mounted al-Quṣwā' and moved on until he reached the Holy Mashʿar. He ascended it, faced the direction of the Kaʿbah and he glorified God, chanting His greatness (*takbīr*), the formula of monotheism and His oneness. Then he dismounted and kept on standing until the morning became quite bright…

The first report above called the second station Mashʿar and Jamʿ and the second and third narrations called it the Holy Mashʿar. Because of this there is need for verification on this issue. A large number of linguists, Qur'ānic exegetes and jurists have said that these three names refer to one place, which is the second standing place for the pilgrims after ʿArafāt. Ibn al-Athīr writes: "The Holy Mashʿar is called Muzdalifah because the pilgrim seeks nearness to God in it." He also writes, "It is called Mashʿar al-Ḥarām because it is a signpost and venue for worship." On Jamʿ he writes, "Jamʿ is a proper noun for Muzdalifah. It is thus named because when Adam and Eve descended to the earth they reunited there."

Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn: "Jamʿ is the Holy Mashʿar, and it is the nearer of the two *standing places* from Makkah."

Majmaʿ al-Bayān: "The Holy Mashʿar is Muzdalifah. It (Mashʿar) is thus named because it is a signpost for the venue of pilgrimage; prayer, standing,

spending the night and making supplications there is part of pilgrimage. The Holy Mashʿar is called Muzdalifah because Gabriel had said to Abraham (ʿa) at ʿArafāt, 'Move (*izdalif*) towards Mashʿar al-Ḥarām.' It is called Jamʿ because the sunset and night prayers are combined (*yujmaʿ*) there with a single adhān and two iqāmah."

In *al-Mabsūṭ*, al-Ṭūsī writes, "Al-Muzdalifah is called Mashʿar al-Ḥarām, and it is also called Jamʿ. Its limits start from al-Ma'zimayn, to al-Ḥiyāḍ to Wādī Muḥassar. It is not right to stand anywhere outside these limits."

Al-Fāsī writes in *Shifāʾ al-Gharām*, "Muzdalifah is the place where the pilgrim is instructed to halt and spend the night after moving from ʿArafāt by night. It lies between Ma'zimayn of ʿArafāt and Muḥassir, and Ma'zimayn is the place known also as al-Mādiq."

These reports show that the scholars maintain that all the three names refer to one place.

On the other view which differentiates between Holy Mashʿar and Muzdalifah, al-Fayyūmī writes in *al-Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr*: "Al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām is a hill at the end of Muzdalifah which is also known as Quzaḥ."

Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn: "It is a hill at the end of Muzdalifah. Its [other] name is Quzaḥ. It is also called Jamʿ, Muzdalifah and Mashʿar al-Ḥarām."

Al-Kashshāf: "Al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām is Quzaḥ. It is the hill on which the imam stands by al-Miqadah. It is also said that Mashʿar al-Ḥarām is the place between the hill of Muzdalifah, by the Ma'zimayn of ʿArafāt, and the valley of Muḥassir, and neither Ma'zimayn nor the valley of Muḥassir are part of the holy Mashʿar. The correct view is that it is a hill because of what Jābir's report says that after the Prophet (ṣ) prayed the Dawn Prayer at Muzdalifah, he mounted his she-camel and rode to Mashʿar al-Ḥarām."

What he meant by Quzaḥ and al-Miqadah is a hill at which a fire is made or a lamp is lit on the night of the standing. In *Akhbār Makkah*, al-Azraqī writes: "On Quzaḥ there is a circular stone column twenty-four cubits round, twelve cubits high and twenty-five steps up to the top. It is erected on a high dune. During the rule of Hārūn, the ʿAbbāsid ruler, candles used to be lighted on it on the night of Muzdalifah. Before him wood fire used to be lighted. After his death, people used to mount gigantic lamps on it with large wicks and kindle them. Their light would reach a wide area. Nowadays small lamps with thin wicks are lighted on it on the night of Muzdalifah."

Al-Fayrūz'ābādī says, "The Holy Mashʿar is an elevation in the middle of Muzdalifah, on which there is a building. The view of some *aḥādīth* scholars

and jurists that the Mashʿar is a small hill by the left hand side of the pilgrim [as he leaves Muzdalifah?], and that this well known structure is not the Mashʿar is a mistake; the correct view is that the Holy Mashʿar is this known place with the structure."

Al-Fāsī says: "Quzaḥ which is the place at which it is recommended for the pilgrim to stand in the morning of the Day of Sacrifice, is a place in Muzdalifah. It is where the people assemble to make supplications in the morning of the Day of Sacrifice. It is known as al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām."

The author of *Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn* writes, "In the middle of Muzdalifah is the Holy Mashʿar where it is recommended for the pilgrims to stand for supplication and remembrance in the morning of the Day of Sacrifice, in compliance with the saying of God the Exalted: *Then when you stream out of 'Arafāt remember God at the Holy Mash'ar, and remember Him as He guided you…* and following in the footsteps of our Prophet (ṣ). After spending the night at Jamʿ, he moved to Quzaḥ in the morning and stood there, and said, 'This is Quzaḥ. It is the standing place and the whole of Jamʿ is a standing place.' It is reported by Abū-Dāwūd and al-Tirmidhī, and the latter commented that it was good and sound. This Mashʿar is the place called Quzaḥ. Ibn ʿUmar says, 'Al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām is the whole of Muzdalifah.' This is mentioned in many places in commentaries of the Qur'ān, but it is considered metaphoric as al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī maintains. Al-Nawawī writes, 'Al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām which is mentioned in the Qur'ān and where the pilgrims are required to stand, is Quzaḥ, a well known hill at Muzdalifah. This is our opinion. Majority of exegetes of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* scholars hold that al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām is the whole of Muzdalifah."

Some scholars maintain that the expression *al-Mash'ar al-Ḥarām* is actually a homonym that in some places refers to the whole of Muzdalifah as the standing place of the night of Jamʿ, while in other places, refers to a part of Muzdalifah, that is Quzaḥ hill, which is situated at the fringe of Muzdalifah near the valley of Muḥassir. In this regard al-Majlisī writes in *Mir'āt al-'Uqūl*, "Al-Mashʿar sometimes denotes the whole area of Muzdalifah and sometimes refers to the hill which known as Quzaḥ."

Jawāhir al-Kalām: "It is probably a homonym which denotes a whole and a part, or it may be an instance of calling a whole by the name of one of its parts."

In another passage, it says, "It is evidently a homonym that is applied to that specific place with the known boundaries which comprise Quzaḥ, and that particular hill which is sometimes considered to be what the term al-Mashʿar

al-Ḥarām refers to."

Shaykh al-Baḥrānī says, "No doubt al-Mashʿar is sometimes mentioned to denote, in a metaphorical way, the whole delimited area considered as one of the sacraments which are places of worship, but as a real name it specifically refers to the hill or the place where the mosque stands now, and reference to the former (that is the hill) is more evident. Moreover, the reports that indicate that it is recommended for a first-timer pilgrim to tread on the *al-Mashʿar* do not suit the view that al-Mashʿar is the whole wide valley."

It is written in the Kuwaiti encyclopedia of Islamic jurisprudence that the relationship between the Holy Mashʿar and Muzdalifah is that the first is part of the second, or the first covers the whole of the second, in which case Mashʿar and Muzdalifah are synonyms.

It is worth mentioning here that there is no difference between the Shīʿite view and the opinion of many Sunni scholars that it is the second place of standing for the pilgrims after they move out of ʿArafāt, and it is Muzdalifah as a whole. This second place starts from Ma'zimayn of ʿArafāt to the valley of Muḥassir and this delimitation is mentioned in many works of Sunni scholars, as it is in Shīʿite narrations, of which are the following.

Abū-Baṣīr relates that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: The Mashʿar is part of Muzdalifah and Muzdalifah is part of Mashʿar.

Isḥāq ibn ʿAmmār said: I asked him (Abū'l-Ḥasan) about the limits of Jamʿ and he replied, "The area between Ma'zimayn and Muḥassir valley."

Abū-Baṣīr relates that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) has said: Muzdalifah extends from the valley of Muḥassir to Ma'zimayn.

Zurārah reports that Imam Abū-Jaʿfar al-Bāqir (ʿa) said to Ḥakam ibn ʿUtaybah, "Where are the boundaries of Muzdalifah?" He did not answer, so the Imam said, "It extends from Ma'zimayn, includes the hill, [and ends] at the valley of Muḥassir."

Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's report reads: Al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām starts from Ma'zimayn, includes al-Ḥiyāḍ, [and ends] at the valley of Muḥassir.

These narrations all mention the same delineation, which indicates that the delimited area is the same even though it has various names; thus *al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām*, *Muzdalifah* and *Jamʿ* are the names of the second place pilgrims are required to stand. If this is the case, what is to be understood from al-Kulaynī's narration from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) and Jābir's narration, which describe the Mashʿar in a way that differentiates it from Muzdalifah

and Jamʿ? The answer to this question is that this report intends to express that it is recommended to walk on foot and stand at the fringe of Muzdalifah, otherwise, there are many reports from the Prophet (ṣ) and his testamentary legatees (ṣ) which clearly state that the second standing place for ḥajj is the whole of Muzdalifah.

Perhaps there is some wisdom behind the use of the Arabic adverb *'inda* (i.e. at, by) in the noble verse: *Then when you stream out of 'Arafāt remember God at the Holy Mash'ar*, and not in the Holy Mashʿar. If we consider the Holy Mashʿar as only a part of Muzdalifah, the expression, *at the Holy Mash'ar*, could mean the area around it, and that is within Muzdalifah area. If, on the other hand, *Holy Mash'ar* is synonymous with *Muzdalifah* then there is no problem at all.

From the foregoing, we can infer that the term *al-Mash'ar al-Ḥarām* as mentioned in the narrations, denotes two things. The first is the second standing place of the pilgrims which is bordered on the upper side by the Ma'zimayn of ʿArafāt and by Muḥassir valley on the lower side, and according to this meaning Muzdalifah will be synonymous with Jamʿ. Secondly, *al-Mash'ar al-Ḥarām* denotes some part of the standing place, and is the same as Quzaḥ, a hill at the end of the second standing place, on which, in the olden days, a wood fire or a lamp used to be lighted in the night of the 10th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, that is during the time for the second standing. In the past Quzaḥ hill was called al-Mīqād (kindling place) because fire was lighted on it.

Moving fast in the valley of Muḥassir

In the morning of the 10th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, the Apostle of God (ṣ) moved from the Holy Mashʿar to Minā. He passed through the valley of Muḥassir which lies between Muzdalifah and Minā, and the pilgrims followed him. The Apostle (ṣ) hastened his movement as he traversed this valley, because it was a place where heavenly punishment had once descended on the People of the Elephant who attempted to demolish the Holy Kaʿbah, about whom God has said in the Qur'ān: *Have you not regarded how your Lord dealt with the Men of the Elephant? Did He not make their stratagems go awry and send against them flocks of birds pelting them with stones of shale, thus making them like chewed-up straw?*

It is related in *al-Kāfī*, from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Faḍl ibn Shādhān, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: When you move through the valley of Muḥassir, which is a wide valley

that lies between Jamʿ and Minā, hasten up until you pass it because the Apostle of God (ṣ) urged his camel on in this place and prayed, "O God, preserve my pledge, accept my repentance, grant my prayers and be the protector of my people whom I have left behind."

Al-Ṣadūq also related this report in *al-Faqīh* through another chain of transmission that also ends with Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār.

A similar report is mentioned in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*.

The author of *Daʿā'im al-Islām* records that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) moved from Muzdalifah… when he reached the valley of Muḥassir, he spurred his she-camel and it cantered until it reached the other side of the valley. Then he resumed his previous pace.

To move fast in the valley of Muḥassir is among the recommended precepts of the Prophet (ṣ), and the Holy Imams (ʿa) have practiced it, even emphasized it, in preservation of the Prophetic traditions. In this regard, al-Kulaynī relates: From a number of our companions, from Sahl ibn Ziyād, from Manṣūr ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿAlī ibn Asbāṭ, from a man from among our companions whose name was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Sinān who said: I was in the company of Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) when a man came in. The Imam (ʿa) gave him thirty dinars to spend on performing pilgrimage on behalf of Ismāʿīl. He stipulated the discharging of all the rites and left out nothing; he even stipulated passing through the valley of Muḥassir with a fast pace.

Another report of al-Kulaynī says: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ḥafṣ al-Bukhtarī and others, who related that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said to one of his sons, "Did you move fast through the valley of Muḥassir?"

He replied, "No."

So, the Imam (ʿa) instructed him to go back and do that. The son said to his father, "I cannot recognize the place," upon which the latter said, "Ask the people."

In a third report al-Kulaynī relates: From a number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from al-Ḥajjāl, from a companion of ours, who said: A man passed by the valley of Muḥassir [at a normal pace] and after he had returned to Makkah, Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) asked him to go back and move fast through Muḥassir.

In *al-Muṣannaf*, Ibn Abī-Shaybah relates a narration attributed to Jābir in which he said: When we reached the valley of Muḥassir the Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "Pick the pebbles [for pelting the pillars] from the valley of

Muḥassir."

Other narrations from the Holy Imams (ʿa) indicate that the distance for which one must move fast in the valley of Muḥassir is a hundred strides or a hundred cubits.

As a recommended action (*mandūb*) this rule is established in Sunni jurisprudence as well.

To Minā

Indeed the Apostle of God (ṣ), of all people, was the most humble servant before God; he always considered himself a slave of God the Exalted and he used to invite the people to acknowledge their servitude to God, this being the essence of his religion and call. In addition, the Prophet (ṣ) behaved towards the believers with modesty, in compliance with the order of his Lord: *Lower your wing to the faithful who follow you.*

He was never haughty or arrogant. He maintained excellent conduct throughout his lifetime. His humility was of such magnitude that others found it impossible to imitate him. He was wont to riding someone behind him whenever he rode a mount, a practice that was antithetical to the temperament of supercilious despots who despised others and had no time for anything but their personal interests and pleasures.

The Prophet (ṣ) rode his servant Usāmah ibn Zayd on his camel when leaving ʿArafāt for the Holy Mashʿar and Faḍl ibn ʿAbbās, his young cousin, from there to Minā. ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbbās said: Faḍl was the rider behind the Apostle of God (ṣ). A woman of the clan of Khathʿam came and the two began exchanging gazes so the Prophet (ṣ) turned Faḍl's face to another side. The woman said, "O Apostle of God! Surely God has enjoined His servants to perform the pilgrimage, but my father is very old and he cannot ride a mount, do I perform ḥajj on his behalf?"

He replied, "Yes."

The Apostle (ṣ) moved on until he reached the edge of Minā to pelt the Pillar of ʿAqabah.

Daʿā'im al-Islām: Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) left Muzdalifah on the Day of Sacrifice he moved to the ʿAqabah Pillar and threw seven pebbles at it and then went to Minā. This is part of the Prophetic custom.

Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa) said: We went to see Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh and I said to him, "Tell me about the pilgrimage of the Prophet," and he

answered, “The Apostle of God (ṣ) stoned the pillar near the Tree with seven pebbles, making the *takbīr* statement as he threw each pebble. They were small pebbles, the size of which is suitable for flinging with the fingers. He flung the pebbles from the valley and then left for the slaughterhouse and slaughtered [his offering].”

In *al-Ṭabaqāt*, Muḥammad ibn Saʿd relates a narration that was reported by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿādh al-Tamīmī (a companion). He said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) addressed us while we were at Minā. Our hearing was honed so that we were able to hear him from our tents. He explained the rites of pilgrimage to the people as he moved toward the pillars. When he reached there he said, “With the pebbles for flinging with the fingers,” and placed his forefinger on his middle finger. He instructed the Migrants to put up at the front of the mosque and the Helpers at the rear. Later on, the rest of the people camped around.

When the Prophet (ṣ) pelted the Pillar of ʿAqabah from the valley, his back was facing the qiblah, and because of this the jurists rule that it is recommended to pelt the biggest pillar while turning one’s back to the qiblah. This is because this pillar was adjoining a hillock and the stoning was done from the open side. This used to be the situation until quite recently, as is evident from the extant pictures of the Pillar that have been taken in the past. The hillock was later leveled to expand the street and make room in the surrounding area.

Sunan Abū-Dāwūd and *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* relate almost the same action, that Sulaymān ibn ʿAmr ibn al-Aḥwaṣ said he heard his mother saying: I saw the Apostle of God (ṣ) pelting the Pillar from inside the valley while he was mounted. He chanted *takbīr* with each stone while a man stood behind him to shelter him. I asked who the man was and the people said he was Faḍl ibn ʿAbbās. There was congestion so the Apostle of God (ṣ) bade the people, “O people, do not kill one another; when you do the pelting use pebbles [of the size that is used for] flinging with the fingers.”

This report says that a man sheltered the Prophet from the pebbles as the people threw them at the pillar, but elsewhere it is said that the man sheltered him from the heat of the sun. Thus, it is unanimous that he had been sheltered; what is not agreed is whether it was against the pebbles or the sun; and probably it was from both.

On the size of the stones that are to be used for the *stoning*, Ibn ʿAbbās relates: In the morning of ʿAqabah, the Apostle of God (ṣ) said to me, “Come and pick for me some pebbles [that are suitable for] flinging with the

fingers." When I put them in his hand, he said, "Like these, like these. Beware of extremism in religion, because the people who lived before you were ruined by extremism in religion."

This action of the Prophet (ṣ) is mentioned in Jābir's narration also. He said: Then he took the middle road which led to the biggest pillar. When he reached the pillar by the Tree he threw seven pebbles at it, chanting *takbīr* as he did so. He used pebbles that are flung with the fingers and he threw them from inside the valley. Then he left for the slaughtering place.

Based on these reports, the Prophet (ṣ) was mounted when he pelted the ʿAqabah pillar, as explicitly stated in Sulaymān ibn ʿAmr's report, so the reports that say that he performed that rite on foot were obviously mentioned in connection with the three days in which he did the pelting on all three pillars, and this is different from the stoning of the Pillar of ʿAqabah on the Day of the Festival. A little deliberation shows that this was the case because there were multiple rites on the ʿĪd Day, including stoning the pillar of ʿAqabah, slaughtering the sacrifice and shaving. After pelting the biggest pillar on that day the Apostle of God (ṣ) slaughtered a hundred camels, shaved his head, gave a sermon, went to Makkah for the circumambulation and returned to Minā to spend the night there. Because of the numerous rites that were to be performed, he had to ride to the big pillar and stone it mounted. A report in *Sunan* Abū-Dāwūd also supports this explanation: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal informed us, from Muḥammad ibn Salamah, from Abū-ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, from Zayd ibn Abū-Anīsah, from Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥuṣayn who said that al-Ḥuṣayn's mother (i.e. his grandmother) said to him: We went on pilgrimage together with the Prophet (ṣ) when he performed the Farewell Pilgrimage. I saw Usāmah and Bilāl, one of them holding the halter of the Prophet's camel and the other holding up his garment to shelter him from the heat until he finished pelting the pillar of ʿAqabah.

Al-Bayhaqī also relates the same report with slight differences, ascribing it to Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥuṣayn from his grandmother Ummu'l-Ḥuṣayn. Another report recorded by al-Bayhaqī and Ibn Saʿd says that Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh said: I saw the Prophet (ṣ) riding on his mount on the Day of Sacrifice and pelting the pillar. He was saying, "Learn your rites, for I do not know, perhaps I may not come for the pilgrimage after this one."

A similar report by these two scholars relates that Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh has said: I saw the Apostle of God (ṣ) pelting the pillar of ʿAqabah on the first day in the forenoon, but afterwards he did this rite after noontime.

In the same vein, Ibn Abī-Shaybah records this narration ascribing it to Qudāmah ibn ʿAmmār al-Kilābī who said: I saw the Prophet (ṣ) stoning the Pillar on the day of Sacrifice riding his she-camel al-Sahbā'. There was no

beating or shoving the people and no: “Make way! Make way!”
Al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī relates the same.

To the slaughterhouse

After the stoning of the Pillar of ʿAqabah on the ʿĪd Day, the Apostle of God (ṣ) went to the slaughter place and the people went with him. Slaughtering the offerings is the second rite of that day. Concerning this duty, God Most High says:

And do not shave your heads until the offering reaches its [assigned] place;

Mention the name of God, during the known days, over the livestock He has provided them. So eat thereof and feed the destitute;

We have appointed for you the [sacrificial] camels as one of God’s sacraments. There is good for you in them. So mention the name of God over them as they stand and when they have fallen on their flanks, eat from them and feed the self-contained needy and the mendicant. Thus have We disposed them for your benefit so that you may give thanks. It is not their flesh or their blood that reaches God, rather it is your godliness that reaches Him. Thus has He disposed them for your benefit so that you may magnify God for His guiding you. And give good news to the virtuous.

A report in *al-Jaʿfariyyāt* says that the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) said: I heard the Apostle of God (ṣ) commenting on the words of God, *al-qāniʿ wa’l-muʿtarr*: *Al-qāniʿ* is the one who is contented with his income, and *al-muʿtarr* is the one who begs.

About the words: *and feed the self-contained needy and the mendicant,* he said: *al-bāʾis al-faqīr* is he who cannot free himself from his chronic sickness.

The Holy Qur'ān indicates that for every believing nation of bygone ages God Almighty instituted a set of rites and offerings that they sacrifice for God and seek thereby His acceptance. God says: *For every nation We have appointed a rite that they might mention God’s name over the livestock He has provided them.*

This offering was a form of worship and this verse shows that such offerings are not specific to the nation of Muḥammad (ṣ) and that mentioning the name of God when slaughtering animals was well known as part of the law of earlier monotheistic religions. The last part of the verse explains that rite means the offerings that are slaughtered for the sake of God, and not all forms of worship like prayer and fasting.

It is worth noting that God does not derive any benefit from the offerings, they serve to strengthen the spirit of sincerity to God and affection and service to fellow believers in the mind of the Muslims, thereby intensifying their devoutness.

These offerings are a legacy of Abraham (ʿa). He saw in a dream that he was slaughtering his son Ishmael (ʿa) and, on informing him, the son displayed his whole-hearted submission to God's command (for which the dream was the medium). Abraham (ʿa) promptly applied his knife to Ishmael's throat, but God instantly ransomed the would-have-been victim with a fat ram. God has mentioned this story in the Qur'ān thus: *So We gave him (i.e. Abraham) the good news of a forbearing son. When he was old enough to assist in his endeavor he said, "My son! I see in a dream that I am sacrificing you. See what you think." He said, "Father! Do whatever you have been commanded. If God wishes you will find me to be patient." So when they had both submitted to [God's will] and he had laid him down on his forehead, We called out to him, "O Abraham! You have indeed fulfilled the vision! Thus indeed do We reward the virtuous! This was indeed a manifest test.*"

Maintaining this Abrahamic precept, the Apostle of God (ṣ), the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) and a small number of other Muslims who were well-to-do, sacrificed their offerings which they had driven along with them as they travelled for the pilgrimage or bought in Makkah. The rest of the pilgrims fell into two categories. The first comprised those who lived near the Holy Mosque within the holy precincts, who were not required to offer the sacrifice because their pilgrimage was of the *ifrād* type, for which the offering is not obligatory.

The second category was that of those pilgrims who had come from various regions, and they were those who were asked to change their form of ḥajj from *ifrād* to *tamattu'* by the command of God Almighty and His Apostle (ṣ). This category is also subdivided into two groups: some had sacrifices or the means to buy one, while others did not. The first group offered their sacrifices in compliance with God's command, "*For those who enjoy [release from the restrictions] by virtue of 'umrah until ḥajj, let the offering be such as is feasible.*" "*As for someone who cannot afford [the offering], let him fast three days during ḥajj and seven when you return; that is [a period of] complete ten [days].*"

These verses state the general rules which are explained in detail in the narrations, some of which we mention here. Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) reads: The sacrificial camels which the

Apostle of God (ṣ) brought were sixty-four (or sixty-six) and ʿAlī (ʿa) brought thirty-four (or thirty-six). The Apostle slaughtered sixty-six and ʿAlī (ʿa) slaughtered thirty-four. Then the Apostle (ṣ) instructed that a piece should be cut from the flesh of each camel and the meat cooked. The cooking was done in a large pot and the Apostle (ṣ) and ʿAlī (ʿa) ate from the meat and sipped some of the broth. The butchers were not given anything of the skins, saddlecloths or the tokens [that hung at their necks to signify their status as offerings]; he gave them out as alms.

In Jābir's narration: Then he left for the slaughterhouse and sacrificed the sixty-three [camels] and passed [the tools] to ʿAlī (ʿa) who slaughtered the rest. He made ʿAlī his partner in his offerings. Then he instructed that a piece of meat should be cut from every camel [and cooked] in a pot. Then they ate some meat and sipped some broth. Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) mounted and moved to the House.

Al-Bayhaqī relates that Ghurfah ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kindī has said: I was present when the sacrificial camels were brought to the Apostle (ṣ) during the Farewell Pilgrimage. He said, "Call Abū'l-Ḥasan for me," and ʿAlī (ʿa) was called for him. He said to him, "Hold the lower part of the spearhead," and he himself held the upper part and they together struck the camels and slaughtered them. When he finished, he mounted and rode ʿAlī (ʿa) behind him.

Al-Kāfī: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Ḥafṣ al-Bukhtarī who heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying: The Apostle of God (ṣ) has forbidden the giving of anything of the skins or the saddlecloths of the sacrificial animals to the butchers.

Al-Ṭūsī relates in *Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār* that Mūsā ibn al-Qāsim has related from Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) sacrificed a cow on behalf of each of the Mothers of the Faithful (i.e. his spouses) and sixty-six camels, and ʿAlī (ʿa) slaughtered thirty-four camels. He did not give the butchers anything of their saddlecloths, their tokens or their hides; he gave them out as alms instead. Another sound report in *al-Kāfī* relates the same.

In *Musnad*, al-Ḥumaydī reports that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī-Laylā has said: I heard ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) saying: The Apostle of God (ṣ) directed me to take care of his camels and distribute their saddlecloths and hides, and that I should give the butcher nothing of it. He said, "We shall give him something else."

Al-Faqīh: The Apostle of God (ṣ) slaughtered a cow on behalf of his wives.

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim: ʿĀ'ishah said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) sacrificed a cow on behalf of his wives.

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim: ʿĀ'ishah said: Then we were brought some beef and I asked what it was and they said that the Apostle of God had sacrificed a cow on behalf of his wives.

Sunan Abū-Dāwūd: Ibn Sarḥ informs us, from Ibn Wahab, from Yūnus, from ibn Shihāb, from ʿUmrah bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿĀ'ishah that the Apostle of God (ṣ) sacrificed one cow on behalf of the family of Muḥammad during the Farewell Pilgrimage.

What she meant by the family of Muḥammad (ṣ) was his wives and since all his nine spouses had accompanied him for the pilgrimage, then her statement should mean that the Apostle of God (ṣ) sacrificed one cow for all of them. However we have heard the sound narration in which Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said that the Apostle of God (ṣ) sacrificed a cow for each of his wives.

Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām: Isḥāq ibn ʿAmmār related that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) had said to him: Do you not know that the Apostle of God (ṣ) slaughtered his sacrifice at Minā at the slaughter place and instructed the people to slaughter their offerings in their camps to save them difficulties?

The majority of pilgrims who attended the Farewell Pilgrimage did not come with offerings since they were performing the *ifrād* form of ḥajj prior to the sending down of the commands for *tamattuʿ ḥajj*, which was revealed to the Apostle (ṣ) at Marwah. Then those who were not residents of the holy precincts changed over to the *tamattuʿ* type, and henceforth the offering of sacrifice became mandatory for them. However they were not ready for the offerings either because of the scarcity of animals that could be had for the purpose or because of a lack of wherewithal on the part of the pilgrims, so the Apostle (ṣ) instructed them to share the available camels and cows, every seven people to a camel. Otherwise, they should fast instead of offering the sacrifice as directed by the Qur'ān.

Shaykh Ṭūsī reports that Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh has related from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥusayn, from Faḍālah ibn Ayyūb, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said: Let every *tamattuʿ* pilgrim who does not get an offering, fast three days during ḥajj and seven when they return to their homes. If he misses this but has a place to put up after the completion of ḥajj, he should fast three days in Makkah. If he could not find a place to put up, let him fast on the way or at

home. If he has a place in Makkah but wishes to fast the seven days also, let him wait until the elapse of a period of time enough for his homeward journey or a month before he fasts.

In a number of narrations, Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: The Apostle (ṣ) sent Badīl ibn Warqā' al-Khuzāʿī on an ash-colored camel in the days of Minā to make the proclamation, "Do not fast, for these are days for eating and drinking."

In other versions, he added, "And conjugal matters."

From the narrations that talk about the Farewell Pilgrimage, it appears that fasting in place of offering the sacrifice was not a familiar rite prior to that year, so the people did not know its specified time and some fasted in the days of Tashrīq at Minā. It was against this background that the Prophet (ṣ) wanted to teach the people the relevant rules by sending Badīl ibn Warqā' al-Khuzāʿī with the proclamation. After Badīl's announcement the Prophet (ṣ) sent the closest man to him, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, to group of Muslims to teach them the rules of religion and their duties.

In *al-Ṭabaqāt*, Ibn Saʿd reports that Masʿūd ibn Ḥakam al-Zurqī related from his mother who said: As if I am seeing ʿAlī (ʿa) riding the Apostle of God's white mule when he stood on the mountain path (*shi'b*) of the Helpers saying: O people, these days are not for fasting; they are days for eating, drinking and remembering [God].

Another report reads: Yazīd ibn Hārūn and Maʿan ibn ʿĪsā related that ʿIbn Abī-Dhi'b related that al-Zuhrī said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) sent ʿAbdullāh ibn Ḥudhāfah on his camel to prohibit the pilgrims from fasting on the day of Tashrīq. He said: They are days for eating, drinking and glorifying God.

Because the number of pilgrims was great, the Apostle of God (ṣ) sent several messengers commensurate with that number to prevent the people from fasting on those days. He sent them one after the other to emphasize his order, one messenger to each group of pilgrims.

Some clarification

A number of Sunni and Shīʿah works report that the Apostle of God (ṣ) said to his daughter Fāṭimah (ʿa), "O Fāṭimah, stand up and witness [the slaughtering of] your sacrifice because for each drop of its blood you will have the forgiveness of all sins. Certainly it will be brought on the Day of Resurrection and placed on your scales seventy-fold of its original amount."

The narrator said: Then Miqdād ibn al-Aswad asked, "O Apostle of God! Is this [favor] specific to the Family of Muḥammad or it covers all believers?" upon which he replied, "It is for the family of Muḥammad and the believers generally."

According to *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, the questioner was Abū-Saʿīd al-Khudrī

Al-Ja'fariyyāt: Imam ʿAlī (ʿa) said that the Apostle of God (ṣ) said to his wives and daughters, "Let your sacrifices be seen in your hands. Anyone among you who cannot do the slaughtering should stand up and say the *takbīr* and pray to God the Mighty and Sublime when it is performed."

It appears that these directions were given by the Apostle of God (ṣ) on the Day of Sacrifice at al-Madīnah in the years in which he and his wives and children did not travel for the pilgrimage, and not at Minā during the Farewell Pilgrimage.

A verification concerning the hundred camels the Prophet and the Commander of the Faithful sacrificed

There is no doubt that the sacrificial camels that the Prophet (ṣ) and the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) sacrificed at Minā during the Farewell Pilgrimage were a hundred in number. This is maintained by all historians and scholars of *aḥādīth* and I do not find a single dissenting view. What is disputed is whether the Prophet (ṣ) came with the whole hundred camels from al-Madīnah and shared them with ʿAlī (ʿa) at Makkah so that he slaughtered sixty-odd and ʿAlī (ʿa) slaughtered the rest (he did not bring any camels from Yemen), or that the Prophet (ṣ) brought sixty-odd from al-Madīnah and ʿAlī (ʿa) came with the rest from Yemen.

In this regard, Jābir's narration says: ʿAlī (ʿa) arrived from Yemen with the Prophet's sacrificial camels and found that Fāṭimah (ʿa) was among the women who had gone out of the state of *iḥrām* and she had put on dyed clothes and applied kohl. He disapproved of this but she said, "My father asked me to do so."

ʿAlī (ʿa) used to say in Iraq: So, I went to the Apostle of God (ṣ) and complained about what she had done and asked him to confirm what she had ascribed to him. He said, "She has said the truth, she has said the truth."

[Then he asked me], "What did you say when you made the intention for the pilgrimage?"

I replied, "I said: O God, I start my pilgrimage with the intention like that of Your prophet."

Then he said, “I have the offerings with me so do not leave your state of *iḥrām*.”

[Jābir added], The total number of offerings that ʿAlī (ʿa) brought from Yemen and those that the Prophet (ṣ) brought was a hundred.

Muʿāwiyah’s narration: He drove along sixty-six or sixty-four sacrificial animals. He reached Makkah on the fourth day of Dhu’l-Ḥijjah… Then he pelted the ʿAqabah pillar. The offering the Apostle of God (ṣ) brought along was sixty-four or sixty-six camels while ʿAlī (ʿa) came with thirty-four or thirty-six.

This narration also states clearly that the Apostle of God (ṣ) drove along sixty-odd camels from al-Madīnah, but the question remains whether ʿAlī (ʿa) brought the thirty something from Yemen. This appears to be the case. Al-Majlisī explains that the uncertainty as regards the numbers sixty-six and sixty-four, and thirty-four and thirty-six was a result of the difference between reports that have been combined together, as has been alluded to in the chain of narrators who transmitted the narrations.

This wavering is also observed in al-Kulaynī’s narration.

However, al-Ḥalabī quotes Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) as saying: The Apostle of God (ṣ) drove a hundred sacrificial camels… Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) said, “O ʿAlī, what did you intend when you commenced your pilgrimage?”

He said, “I commenced it with what the Prophet (ṣ) commenced his own.”

Then the Apostle (ṣ) said to him, “Do not leave your *iḥrām*,” and made him his partner in his offering; he gave him thirty-seven camels and the Prophet (ṣ) himself sacrificed sixty-three…

Al-Faqīh: The Prophet (ṣ) asked, “O ʿAlī, what did you intend when you commenced your pilgrimage?”

He replied, “I intend to commence a pilgrimage like the one you have commenced.”

Then the Prophet (ṣ) said to him, “Keep your *iḥrām* as I have done, [for] you are my partner in my offerings.”

The Prophet (ṣ) had brought along with him a hundred sacrificial camels out of which he gave ʿAlī thirty-four and kept sixty-six for himself… ʿAlī (ʿa) used to take pride in [this privilege], by saying to the Companions: Who amongst you is like me? I am the partner of the Apostle of God (ṣ) in his offerings! Who amongst you is like me? I am the one whose sacrifice the

Apostle of God (ṣ) slaughtered with his own hands!

Making ʿAlī (ʿa) his partner in the offerings has been related in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* as well. Commenting on these reports, al-Nawawī writes: He instructed ʿAlī (ʿa) to keep his *iḥrām* but directed Abū-Mūsā to terminate his. Their cases differed, although they both entered into *iḥrām* as the Prophet (ṣ) did. Since he had the offerings with him and he had made ʿAlī (ʿa) his partner in them, he instructed him to remain in his *iḥrām*. He was a *qirān* pilgrim so ʿAlī (ʿa) had become a *qirān* pilgrim [like him].

Commenting on the report of Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār in *Malādh al-Akhyār*, al-Majlisī writes:

> This report indicates that the Prophet (ṣ) took with him sixty-six or sixty-four sacrificial camels [to Makkah] and the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) brought the rest. It appears from other reports that the Prophet (ṣ) travelled with a hundred and assigned thirty-six or thirty-four to the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) and set aside the rest for himself. *Al-Faqīh*: The law of *tamattuʿ ḥajj* was sent down to the Prophet (ṣ) at Marwah when he had finished the circuiting [between Ṣafā and Marwah]. Thereupon he said, "O People, here is Gabriel… (and he mentioned the whole of narration, at the end of which he said to ʿAlī): You are my partner in my offerings."
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> However there are slight variations of wording. *Al-Faqīh* continues: The Prophet (ṣ) had driven a hundred camels and assigned thirty-four to ʿAlī (ʿa) and sixty-six to himself and he slaughtered them with his own hands. ʿAlī (ʿa) used to take pride in [this privilege]…
>
> It is also related in *al-Kāfī* through a sound chain of transmission where al-Ḥalabī said that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) has said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) set out from al-Madīnah four days before the end of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah to perform the obligatory ḥajj prescribed in Islam… and drove a hundred sacrificial camels.
>
> Then the narration continued similar to the one that is related in the book (i.e. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*) to where it says: Then he went (i.e. ʿAlī) to the Apostle of God (ṣ) to ask about some question of law and the latter said, "O ʿAlī, what did you intend when you commenced your pilgrimage?" He said, "I commenced it with what the Prophet (ṣ) commenced his own." Then the Apostle (ṣ) said to him, "Do not leave your *iḥrām*; you are my partner in my offering," and assigned to him thirty-seven camels and the Prophet himself sacrificed sixty-three…

> This narration could mean that the camels he drove from al-Madīnah for himself were sixty something, and that he had driven the rest on behalf of ʿAlī (ʿa) because he (i.e. ʿAlī) had attached his *iḥrām* to that of the Prophet (ṣ). His saying after that: *and ʿAlī came with thirty-four camels*... means that he came with them from Makkah, after the Prophet (ṣ) had already made him a partner in his offerings.

The sum of al-Majlisī's discussion is that he chose al-Ḥalabī's narration and that recorded in *Al-Faqīh* that the Prophet (ṣ) had driven a hundred camels from al-Madīnah and made ʿAlī (ʿa) his partner at Makkah.

The eminent jurist Shaykh al-Fāḍil al-Lankarānī writes:

> The truth is that the claim of inconsistency in the reports originates from lack of a complete examination of the whole report or lack of proper attention to its meanings, because Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's version contains the question in al-Ḥalabī's version, where the Prophet (ṣ) asked ʿAlī (ʿa) the nature of his *iḥrām*, wherein he replied that he took the *iḥrām* and commenced the pilgrimage with the type of pilgrimage the Prophet (ṣ) intended, and that the Prophet (ṣ) had made him his partner in the offerings. Based on this, what is meant by saying that ʿAlī (ʿa) came with thirty-four camels is his driving them to Minā from Makkah after the Prophet (ṣ) had made him his partner in the offerings and assigned about a third of them to him, and not the simultaneity of his taking the *iḥrām* at the mīqāt of the people of Yemen (as he evidently did) and his driving of the offerings. Another indicator of this meaning is what ʿAlī (ʿa) said, as mentioned in this report, "When the day became bright he moved on until he reached Minā where he pelted the al-ʿAqabah pillar. The sacrifices with which he had come…"
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> Therefore, there should not be any hesitation on the fact that the *coming* that is mentioned of ʿAlī was not connected with the driving of the sacrifices but rather with bringing along the portion that the Prophet (ṣ) assigned to him at Makkah. Thus there is no contradiction in the matter.
>
> However, al-Ṭabarsī's narration in *I'lām al-Warā* says: The Apostle of God (ṣ) set out from al-Madīnah intending to travel for the pilgrimage in the tenth year… He was a *qirān* pilgrim by virtue of his driving along the sacrifice. He took with him sixty-six camels and ʿAlī commenced ḥajj from Yemen and drove along thirty-four camels.

What is evident from this report is that ʿAlī's *iḥrām* was like that of the Prophet (ṣ) by virtue of his driving along the offerings, and therefore, he had intended the *qirān* type of pilgrimage like the Prophet (ṣ). However, the last part of the report supplies the circumstantial evidence which shows that the driving of the camels mentioned in it does not refer to driving them when making the *iḥrām*, rather it refers to driving them from Makkah to Minā, as is indicated in the dialogue: "O ʿAlī, what did you intend when you commenced your pilgrimage?" He replied, "O Apostle of God, I intend to commence a pilgrimage like the one you have commenced." Then the Prophet (ṣ) said to him, "Then you are my partner in my pilgrimage, rites and offerings."

From this end part it is very clear that ʿAlī's intention was not *qirān* pilgrimage, so it must be said that what is intended in the opening part of the report is what we have mentioned, therefore, it does not contradict the other reports on the matter.

In addition to the existence of this circumstantial evidence, this narration was not ascribed to the Imam (ʿa) even by way of *irsāl* (i.e. a *disconnected* chain of transmission), because it is clearly a historical narration rather than a *ḥadīth*. (This nature is made even more marked when we consider that its source is not among the compendia of *aḥādīth*, and the same objection can be directed at the author of *Wasā'il al-Shīʿah*); it did not state clearly that ʿAlī's ḥajj was *qirān*, although it said precisely that the Prophet's was *qirān*. It contains an inconsistency where he says concerning the Prophet (ṣ), *he drove*, and concerning ʿAlī (ʿa), *he drove along with him*. Lastly, a number of other sound narrations, previously mentioned, indicate that the Prophet (ṣ) drove along a hundred camels and not sixty-six.

On the whole, a scrutiny of the narrations that have been reported on this issue will reveal that the form of ḥajj that ʿAlī (ʿa) intended when he entered into *iḥrām* must have included both *qirān* and *ifrād* as alternates. It could not have been ʿumrah, since the law for *tamattuʿ* had not yet been legislated, and after he enquired about the nature of the ḥajj the Prophet (ṣ) was performing, it became clear that ʿAlī's pilgrimage was in fact *qirān*. However, a problem arises here and that is: for *qirān* pilgrimage, it is necessary to do *iḥrām* simultaneous with driving the sacrifice, but it is evident from the narrations that his driving the offerings was not simultaneous with his taking *iḥrām*, and that he only drove them from Makkah after the Apostle (ṣ) had made

him partner in his own offerings.

The answer to this problem can take two forms. Firstly, it can be said that this was a prerogative of ʿAlī (ʿa) as the permissibility of joining somebody in ones offerings was a prerogative of the Prophet (ṣ). Secondly, it can be said that the condition of simultaneity for taking the *iḥrām* and driving the offering is mandatory in the *qirān* pilgrimage only, where the form of pilgrimage is known at the time of taking *iḥrām*, but where it is unclear, that condition is not required. What is required in this case is driving it after the revelation and specification of type of ḥajj, and it is assumed that this is fulfilled in the case of ʿAlī's *iḥrām* since he had driven the sacrifice when the Prophet (ṣ) made him his partner in his offerings. And it can safely be said that this applies in all cases [i.e. not only in the case of ʿAlī]. A more detailed discussion on this issue will come in the section on *qirān* pilgrimage, God willing.

From the foregoing discussion, it can be seen that, on the basis of juristic maxims and the texts of the sources of the law, the correctness of *iḥrām* that is done in this way is obvious.

After his treatment of this topic Shaykh Lankarānī infers that the hundred camels were the Prophet's, and he had driven them along from al-Madīnah and made ʿAlī (ʿa) his partner in them at Makkah. Like al-Majlisī, he chose al-Ḥalabī's report and preferred it to the others. However the opening part of Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's report says: *He did talbiyah for the commencement of qirān type of pilgrimage and drove along sixty-six or sixty-four camels.*

This is an explicit statement that the Prophet (ṣ) took not hundred camels but sixty something, unless we say that he took that number from al-Madīnah and bought the rest on the way to Makkah to complete the hundred. But, this is not mentioned anywhere and not even a weak report alludes to that. Moreover, to hold that he did so is to directly contradict the unequivocal statement in Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's report which says that ʿAlī (ʿa) came to Makkah with thirty-four or thirty-six sacrificial camels.

I have perused the works of *ḥadīth*, narrations and biographies of the Prophet (ṣ) in a bid to get something dependable that might shed light on the matter but to no avail. I have studied the *ʿumrāt* of the Prophet (ṣ) to see whether there were a specific number of animals he consistently carried as sacrifice, but could not find any. For the uncompleted ʿumrah of Ḥudaybiyah, he travelled with seventy camels which he sacrificed there and returned to al-

Madīnah. In the ʿumrah of compensation he took sixty camels which he sacrificed at Makkah. In the ʿumrah he went from al-Juʿrānah, he took no offerings at all. During the pilgrimage of the ninth year after the hegira, he sent Abū-Bakr with twenty camels. This shows that the Prophet (ṣ) did not keep to a specific number of sacrificial camels.

On this question Shaykh Muḥammad Zakariyyā Kandahlawī writes: The total number of sacrifices that were with him and those that were brought from Yemen was a hundred. This is mentioned in *al-Khamīs* and it is explicitly stated in Jābir's lengthy report, as recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and *Sunan Abū-Dāwūd*. In this regard, al-Zarqānī quotes al-Qāḍī ʿAyyāḍ's words, "What is obvious is that the Prophet (ṣ) slaughtered the sacrificial camels which he had brought from al-Madīnah, and they were sixty-three, as al-Tirmidhī relates. And he gave ʿAlī (ʿa) the camels which the latter had brought from Yemen, and that number completed the hundred."

This is in support of the view that the Apostle (ṣ) drove sixty something camels from al-Madīnah but it asserts that the camels ʿAlī (ʿa) brought from Yemen were the Prophet's property, which he gave ʿAlī (ʿa). But this contradicts the obvious, for if ʿAlī (ʿa) had actually driven the camels from Yemen, what is meant by saying that they were the Prophet's property? And based on this it was meaningless to say that the Prophet (ṣ) made ʿAlī (ʿa) his partner in the offerings.

The assertion that the Apostle slaughtered sixty-three and ʿAlī slaughtered the rest, that is, thirty-seven, is found in Ḥammād ibn ʿUthmān's narration from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), which is mentioned in *al-Kāfī*, and also in Jābir's report as related in *Musnad Aḥmad*.

Prohibition of storing the flesh of the sacrifices

Many reports from both Sunni and Shīʿah sources state that the Apostle of God (ṣ) prohibited keeping the flesh of the sacrifices for more than three days. Later on he permitted the pilgrims to eat from it and also jerk, store and take provisions thereof for more than three days. The reason for the prohibition, as some narrations mention, was the scarcity of the meat and the great need and large number of the poor then, and conversely, the reason for the subsequent revocation was the abundance of it and the decrease in neediness.

Generally speaking, there is nothing wrong with this explanation but what needs to be ascertained is the time that the Prophet (ṣ) issued this prohibition. Did he prohibit it on the Day of Sacrifice at Minā, which was

the 10th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, two or three months before his demise? Was it at al-Madīnah, years before the Farewell Pilgrimage, when the Muslims did not go for the pilgrimage, when they slaughtered their sacrificial animals on the Day of Sacrifice? When was the permission to keep the flesh of the sacrifices given?

The word *uḍḥiyah* (sacrifice) refers to the offerings that are slaughtered for the sake of God Almighty at Minā during the ḥajj season, as well as the sacrifices that are slaughtered in different countries from the 10th to the 13th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah. It can be argued that the term *uḍḥiyah* can be used to denote all types of offerings that are given for God's sake anywhere anytime.

In addition to its high improbability, the assertion that the prohibition of storing the meat took place on the 10th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah at Minā and that, after a day or two or three, the Prophet (ṣ) issued the permission to keep it, is incompatible with the following reports: The Prophet's directive in which he said, "Whoever offers the sacrifice should not keep any part of the animal in his house for more than three days." The following year the people asked him, "'O Apostle of God, shall we do as we did in the previous year?" He replied, "Eat, feed others and keep some. The previous year the people were needy and I wished that you should assist them." It is also irreconcilable with what the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa), related from the Prophet (ṣ), "You have been forbidden three things: visiting the graves, but now you can visit them; taking the meat of the offerings out of Minā after three days, but now you can partake of it and keep [what you like]; and preparing nabidh (a beverage made of grapes, dates, wheat, etc.), but now you can make it, [but you should know that] every intoxicating liquid is forbidden."

It is also at odds with Yazīd ibn Abī-Ḥabīb's report: I asked ʿĀ'ishah about the flesh of the sacrifices and she said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) used to prohibit it and it was [later] allowed. [One day when] ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) came back from a journey he met his wife, Fāṭimah, with some meat from the sacrifices, so he said to her, 'Did the Apostle of God not prohibit it?' She replied, 'He is the one who permitted it.' So he went to the Apostle and enquired about the matter, and he replied, 'Partake of it from Dhu'l-Ḥijjah to [another] Dhu'l-Ḥijjah.'

With regard to preparing nabidh and visiting of graves, it is known that the two had been prohibited many years earlier, not three months before the demise of the Prophet (ṣ). The time the stowing the meat of the sacrifices was forbidden was similar to that of the first two, and after a long period, all

the three were permitted again.

These and other reports indicate that the Prophet (ṣ) issued this prohibition while he was in al-Madīnah many years before the Farewell Pilgrimage, and it was with respect to the animals that the people sacrificed during the festival of Sacrifice at their homes as a recommended act (*mustaḥabb*), or at Minā as an obligation (*wājib*), and later he gave the permission before the Farewell Pilgrimage. Jābir's lengthy report which is recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, and Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's report from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), which are the two sources that describe the Farewell Pilgrimage in detail, do not contain even a word that indicates that the prohibition and subsequent permission were done during that pilgrimage, nor do other less comprehensive reports.

One can say that the initial prohibition and subsequent permission were not divine commands that were sent to the Prophet (ṣ) for us to consider the second as an abrogation of the first. They must have been edicts issued by the Prophet (ṣ), in his capacity as the leader of the Muslim community, in accordance with the general good of the community, which required the prohibition at one time and rescinding it at another. The tone of the reports that have been related from the Imams in this regard support this interpretation. *al-Kāfī* and *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*: ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Jamīl, from Muḥammad ibn Muslim who said: I asked him (i.e. Imam al-Ṣādiq) about taking the meat of the sacrifices out of Minā and he said, "We used to say that nothing of it should be taken out [of Minā] because the people need it, but today, the people have grown in number so there is nothing wrong in taking it out [of Minā]."

Similarly, *al-Faqīh* quotes: Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: We used to forbid people from taking the meat of the sacrifices out of Minā after three days because it was scarce, while the people were numerous, but now the source of meat has increased, while the needy people have decreased, so it can now be taken out from Minā.

Although the prohibition and subsequent permission by the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) in these reports pertain to the sacrifices that are slaughtered at Minā, as explicitly stated in the reports, the prohibition and its repealing by the Prophet (ṣ) covered not only the sacrifices at Minā but other sacrifices which people offer at home, and we have cited narrations on both.

Nājiyah ibn Jundab al-Khuzā'ī al-Aslamī takes care of the Prophet's sacrificial camels

Al-Kulaynī, al-Ṭūsī and al-Ṣadūq have related a report by Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: The man who drove the Prophet's sacrificial camels was Nājiyah ibn Jundab al-Khuzāʿī al-Aslamī.

This man was a stout and strong cameleer who was discerning in matters of camel-driving, and because of this the Prophet assigned to him the management of his sacrificial camels in the ḥajj and ʿumrah seasons. Introducing Nājiyah ibn Jundab, Ibn Saʿd, in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, says: Nājiyah ibn Jundab al-Khuzāʿī al-Aslamī was of the clan of Banū-Sahm of the Aslam tribe. He accompanied the Apostle of God (ṣ) in Ḥudaybiyah, and the Apostle (ṣ) gave him the charge of his sacrificial camels when he set out for Ḥudaybiyah.

In another place, he adds: The Apostle of God (ṣ) made Nājiyah ibn Jundab al-Aslamī the manager of his sacrificial camels when he travelled for the Umrah of the Decision. He moved with the camels in front of the caravan looking for pasture among the trees, assisted by four youths of the Aslam tribe… Ibn Jundab was also present at the conquest of Makkah, and the Apostle of God (ṣ) assigned to him the task of managing his sacrificial camels of the Farewell Pilgrimage. Nājiyah lived among the Banū-Salamah, but he died in al-Madīnah during the reign of Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī-Sufyān.

Speaking about the ʿumrah of compensation, Ibn Saʿd writes: The Apostle of God (ṣ) drove sixty camels. He charged Nājiyah ibn Jundab al-Aslamī to take care of them.

In the story of the pilgrimage which took place in the ninth year, he says: The Apostle of God (ṣ) sent him (i.e. Abū-Bakr) with twenty camels for which he did the *taqlīd* (i.e. hanging old sandals on their heads as a token of their being offerings) and the *ishʿār* (i.e. slitting the humps until blood trickled). He asked Nājiyah ibn Jundab to take charge of them.

And describing the Farewell Pilgrimage, Ibn Saʿd adds: His sacrificial camels were taken care of by Nājiyah ibn Jundab al-Aslamī.

The author of *Usd al-Ghābah* writes: Nājiyah ibn Jundab ibn Kaʿb… was a companion of the Apostle of God (ṣ). He was counted among the people of al-Madīnah. It is said that his name was Dhakwān and the Apostle of God (ṣ) renamed him Nājiyah (the delivered) because of his escape from [the persecution of] the Quraysh. Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad and others inform us from Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā, from Hārūn ibn Isḥāq al-Hamdānī, from ʿAbādah

ibn Sulaymān, from Hishām ibn ʿUrwah, from his father, from Nājiyah al-Khuzāʿī who said: I said O Apostle of God, "What should I do with the diseased camels?" He said, "Slaughter them and dip their sandals [of their tokens] into their blood and allow the people to partake of their flesh."

Mu'ammar ibn 'Abdullāh was in charge of the Prophet's luggage

Al-Kulaynī and al-Ṭūsī relate that Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār heard Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) saying: Muʿammar ibn ʿAbdullāh was the man in charge of the luggage of the Apostle of God (ṣ). [One night] the Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "O Muʿammar, is the luggage loosely tied tonight?" Muʿammar said, "May my father and mother be your ransom! I have surely tied it as firm as I used to do, but some people who envy my position before you wish that you should replace me with someone else." Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "I will not do that."

The Prophet shaves his head

After slaughtering his sacrifice the Apostle of God (ṣ) shaved his head, this being the third duty of the day of Festival. Al-Kulaynī, al-Ṭūsī and al-Ṣadūq relate that Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār said: Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: The person who shaved the Prophet's head during the Farewell Pilgrimage was Muʿammar ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Ḥārithah ibn Naṣr ibn ʿUwayj ibn ʿAdī ibn Kaʿb. When he was shaving the Prophet's head during the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Qurayshites exclaimed, "O Muʿammar! The Apostle of God's ear in your hand and you are holding the razor?" "By God I consider it a great favor God has granted me," he returned.

It appears this man was the person in charge of the Prophet's luggage on that journey.

In a short biography of this man, the author of *Usd al-Ghābah* says: [He was] Muʿammar ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Naḍlah ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā ibn Ḥarthān ibn ʿAwf ibn ʿUbayd ibn ʿUwayj ibn ʿAdī ibn Kaʿb al-Qārashī al-ʿAdawī. Ibn al-Madīnī says he was Muʿammar ibn Nāfiʿ ibn Naḍlah. He was actually Muʿammar ibn Abī-Muʿammar. He embraced Islam very early and migrated to Abyssinia, the second migration, and he emigrated to al-Madīnah later, arriving there with the passengers of the two ships from Abyssinia. He lived long. He was considered among the people of al-Madīnah. He was the one who shaved the Apostle of God's head during the Farewell Pilgrimage.

Al-Ṭabaqāt: Anas said: I have seen the Apostle of God (ṣ) having a shave while his companions surrounded him wishing that no lock should fall except in the hand of one of them.

In the same vein, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*: Anas ibn Mālik said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) stoned the Pillar and slaughtered his offering he got prepared for the shaving. He turned the right side of his head for the barber and he shaved. Then he called Abū-Ṭalḥah al-Anṣārī and gave him the hair. Then he turned the left side to the barber and asked him to shave, and he shaved it. Then he called Abū-Ṭalḥah again and gave him the hair, saying, "Divide it among the people."

This report is also related by Muslim on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar.

Although not explicitly stated in this report, it is probable that the Prophet (ṣ) directed that the hair of the right side of his head be buried at Minā while he divided that of the left side among the people. Following the footsteps of the Prophet (ṣ), in similar circumstances, Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa) asked the barber to [first] place the razor on the right side of his forehead and then told him to start the shaving. Rather than clip his hair the Apostle of God (ṣ) had a shave because it was the more meritorious. A large number of both Sunni and Shīʿah scholars relate that the Apostle of God (ṣ) said twice on the day of Ḥudaybiyah, "O God, shower graces on those who shave," some people clamored, "And on those who clip, O Apostle of God," and he replied, "And on those who clip."

Some narrations say that the Apostle (ṣ) prayed thrice for God's grace on those who shaved.

Those who had matted their hair to prevent it from becoming infested with lice are required to shave as the Prophet (ṣ) did, since he had matted his hair on taking the *iḥrām*. Al-Kulaynī and al-Ṭūsī relate that Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: …If he has matted or plaited his hair he is required to shave and not to clip.

This rule is mentioned in many narrations. Muslim relates in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* that Ḥafṣah, the Prophet's wife, said, "O Apostle of God, why did the people terminate their *iḥrām* of ʿumrah but you continue your own?" He said, "I have matted my hair and hung the token on my offerings, so I will not come out of my *iḥrām* until I slaughter the sacrifice."

Al-Kulaynī and al-Ṣadūq report that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) shaved his head, clipped his finger nails and moustache, and trimmed his beard on the Day of Sacrifice.

This must have been in the Farewell Pilgrimage, since al-Ṭūsī has reported that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) gave instructions for the performance of these rites and added, "Then visit the House and go round it seven times."

This narration states clearly that these rites were recommended acts of the pilgrimage and the Prophet (ṣ) did them during his Farewell Pilgrimage at Minā, and not in al-Madīnah on the Day of Sacrifice, nor was shaving a recommended act on the ʿĪd Day for those who were at home, those who were not pilgrims.

The Prophet answers the questions of the pilgrims

On the Day of Sacrifice there are three rites the pilgrims are required to perform: pelting the pillar of ʿAqabah, slaughtering the sacrifices and shaving or trimming, and it is only natural that the pilgrims should have questions about these rites, their sequence and the way of performing them, and the Apostle (ṣ), who was their guide and teacher, imparted to the people the knowledge of their duties and also encouraged them to ask questions concerning the rites of ḥajj.

Al-Sunan al-Kubrā and *al-Ṭabaqāt*: Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh said: I saw the Prophet (ṣ) on the Day of Sacrifice riding his she-camel and pelting the Pillar as he said, "Learn your rites, for I do not know, perhaps I may not [live] to perform another pilgrimage after this one."

Because that ḥajj was the first that was performed according to the complete rites of Islam, the pilgrims had several questions about the rites of ḥajj, and when they saw that the Prophet (ṣ) was entertaining their questions with an open heart, they came forward and asked. The three shaykhs al-Kulaynī, al-Ṭūsī and al-Ṣadūq relate through sound chains of transmission that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: A group of people came to the Apostle of God (ṣ) on the Day of Sacrifice and one of them said, "O Apostle of God (ṣ), I shaved before slaughtering." Another said, "O Apostle of God, I shaved before stoning," and so on; whatever they were supposed to do first they did last. [However], he answered them, "It does not matter."

These three scholars narrated other reports in the same vein from the Apostle of God (ṣ), which have been related by Imam Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Jawād (ʿa).

Similarly, many Sunni sources also have recorded narrations on questions and answers regarding the delaying of rites that are supposed to precede others.

The Prophet visits the Ancient House on the Day of Sacrifice

After finishing the three rites of the Day of Sacrifice that are done at Minā and answering the questions of the pilgrims in that regard, the Prophet (ṣ)

entered the city of Makkah for the circumambulation of the holy Kaʿbah. In Muʿāwiyah Ibn ʿAmmār's narration, Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: He shaved, visited the House and returned to Minā."

In *Daʿā'im al-Islām*, Imam ʿAlī (ʿa) is reported to have said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) moved to the House on the Day of Sacrifice and prayed the noon prayer in Makkah.

Shaykh al-Ṣadūq relates from Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Mutawakkil, from ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn al-Saʿd'ābādī, from Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Barqī, from ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥasanī, from Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan, from Shaybān, from Jābir, from Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) came to a group of people drawing water from the Zamzam well with leather pails and said to them, "How excellent your work is! If not because of my fear that the people might wrest your office of serving water to pilgrims, I would have helped you draw the pail. Lift up one." [So they lifted up a pail] and he took it and drank from it.

Jābir's narration reads: Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) rode again and moved to the House. He prayed the noon prayer at Makkah and went to Zamzam, where he met some men of the Banū-ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib clan giving water to the pilgrims. He said, "Draw up [water from the well] O Banū-ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! Had it been for the fear that the people might wrest your office of serving water to pilgrims (*siqāyah*), I would have given you a hand in drawing it." Then they gave him a pail from which he drank.

Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: Ibn ʿAbbās said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) came to the water-bearers and asked for a drink. ʿAbbās said [to his son Faḍl], "O Faḍl, go to your mother and bring the Apostle of God the drink that is with her."

The Prophet (ṣ) said, "Serve me the drink."

He (ʿAbbās) said, "O Apostle of God, they dip their hands in it."

"Give me water," he insisted. Then he drank and went to the Zamzam well, while the men were working at the well and giving people water. He said to them, "Continue in your efforts, for you are doing good work. Had it not been for the fear that it (the office of *siqāyah*) might be wrested from you, I would have dismounted and taken the rope on this"- and he pointed to his shoulder.

Recounting this incident, al-Bayhaqī writes: Abū-ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Shaybānī, Abū'l-Walīd al-Faqīh and Abū-Bakr ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Ḥasan ibn Sufyān, from Muḥammad ibn Minhāl al-Ḍarīr, from Yazīd ibn Zurayʿ, from

Muḥammad ibn Bakr ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Muzanī who said: I was sitting with Ibn ʿAbbās when a Bedouin came and said, "Why are your cousins serving the people milk and honey while you serve them nabidh (a type of beverage)? Is it out of poverty or parsimony?"

Ibn ʿAbbās replied, "Praise be to God, we are neither poor nor parsimonious. The Prophet (ṣ) came to us riding on his camel with Usāmah riding behind him and asked for a drink, so we brought him a bowl of nabidh from which drank and left some for Usāmah. Then he said, 'Well done! Keep it up!' Because of this we do not want to change what the Apostle of God (ṣ) had instructed."

Al-Fayrūz'ābādī says: The Prophet of God (ṣ) was riding his camel for the circumambulation and the reason for his being mounted was congestion, according to some scholars, or to be raised above the people, to give them the opportunity to watch him and learn the circumambulation and its etiquette. Yet others say that he rode because something happened to his blessed foot which made him ride out of necessity.

Based on the two reports we cited above which are considered acceptable by both the Shīʿites and Sunnis, the Prophet (ṣ) returned from Minā to the House on the Day of Sacrifice in order to perform the circumambulation and he went back to Minā the same day. Despite this, some Sunni sources relate some reports which say that the Apostle (ṣ) directed his companions to move from Minā in the daytime, while he moved together with his wives at night and went round the Kaʿbah. The reports add that he also went to Zamzam where he said, "Give me [some water]" and he was given a pail. He drank from it and gurgled some water in his mouth and then spurted it into the pail and instructed the people to empty it in the well, that is, Zamzam.

This is hardly credible, as al-Fayrūz'ābādī remarks in *Sifr al-Saʿādah*: Some masters of *aḥādīth* say that what is mentioned in some narrations, that he (i.e. the Prophet) delayed the Circumambulation of Women until night, was a mistake.

In *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, al-Bayhaqī relates a narration in which ʿĀ'ishah said that the Prophet (ṣ) permitted his companions to visit the House at noon on the Day of Sacrifice, while he himself visited it at night with his wives.

This apparent inconsistency can be explained by saying the Apostle (ṣ) did the circumambulation in the daytime on the Day of Sacrifice and later accompanied his wives at night to enable them do the Circumambulation of Visit, offer the prayers, circuit between Ṣafā and Marwah, do the

Circumambulation of Women and pray its two cycles of prayer in their position as *tamattuʿ* pilgrims. This interpretation is supported by a narration in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in which ʿAṭā describes how the Prophet's wives did their circumambulation. He said they would come out disguised at night and do the circumambulation with the men but whenever they entered the House, they would wait until the men were made to go out.

It is also probable that this practice pertains to their circumambulation and entering inside the holy Kaʿbah after the demise of the Prophet (ṣ), when they visited the Ancient House from al-Madīnah.

The position of the Prophet's cupola and his mosque at Minā

Minā is indeed God's sanctuary, and whoever visits it is His guest, and the Apostle of God (ṣ) said while he was in Minā, "If the people knew into whose place they have come, they would have been glad on account of the favors of their Lord in addition to the forgiveness." Because of this, the discharging of his individual and social duties absorbed the Apostle (ṣ) to the exclusion of all else. He did not erect any structure for himself, neither in Makkah nor in the venerated stations, so the people built a cupola for him in al-Abṭuḥ, outside the city. He never spent the night inside Makkah. With regard to Minā, ʿĀ'ishah said to him, "O Apostle of God, shall we not erect a tent to give you shade at Minā?" but he replied, "No, Minā is the camping site of those who had come before us."

Al-Azraqī relates that ʿAbdullāh ibn Abū-Bakr has said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "When we reach Makkah we shall camp at al-Khayf, God-willing." Al-Khayf is a mosque in Minā where they (i.e. our adversaries) entered into a covenant against us.

In *Sunan Abī-Dāwūd*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿādh al-Tamīmī said that the Apostle of God (ṣ) instructed the Migrants to put up their tents in the front of the mosque and the Helpers behind it, then the rest of the people took their places after that. What is meant here by mosque is the Mosque of Al-Khayf at Minā.

Al-Sunan al-Kubrā: ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdān informed us from Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, from Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā ibn Abī-Qammāsh, from Abū-Muʿammar ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAmr, from ʿAbd al-Wārith ibn Saʿīd, from ʿUtbah ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Sahmī, from Zurārah ibn Kārim ibn al-Ḥārith, who said that Ḥārith ibn ʿAmr said: I came to the Prophet (ṣ) at ʿArafāt (or at Minā) when the people had surrounded him. The Bedouins would come around and when they saw him they would say: This is a blessed face.

Al-Kulaynī relates: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Faḍḍāl ibn Shādhān, from Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: Pray in the mosque of al-Khayf which is a mosque in Minā. It used to be the prayer place of the Apostle of God (ṣ) by the minaret which is in the centre of the Mosque. [The mosque extends] to about thirty cubits towards the direction of qiblah (i.e. the Kaʿbah) from the minaret, and to the right, to the left and behind it, it extends to around the same distance. Try to get there. Pray there if you can because a thousand prophets have offered prayers in that place. It is called al-Khayf because it is raised above the valley and any place that rises above a valley is called *khayf*.

Two stories about Minā

1. Al-Tirmidhī relates a narration in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* in which Yazīd ibn al-Aswad al-ʿĀmirī says: I accompanied the Prophet (ṣ) on his pilgrimage and prayed with him in the mosque of al-Khayf. When he finished his prayer and turned aside, there were two people at the rear who did not pray together with him. He said, "Bring them," and they were brought, and as they came forward they trembled.

He asked them, "Why did you not pray with us?"

They replied, "O Apostle of God, we had already prayed where we unloaded our luggage."

He remarked, "Do not do this. If you pray where you keep your luggage and you come to the mosque when the prayer in conducted in congregation, pray again together with the people, for it will be counted a supererogatory devotion for you."

2. Shaykh al-Ṣadūq writes: Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd al-Hāshimī informs us, from Furāt ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Furāt al-Kūfī, from Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muʿammar, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Ramlī, from Aḥmad ibn Mūsā, from Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq al-Marūzī from ʿAmr ibn Manṣūr from Ismāʿīl ibn Abān from Yaḥyā ibn Abī-Kathīr, from his father, from Abū-Hārūn al-ʿAbdī, from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī, who said: We were together with the Apostle of God (ṣ) at Minā, when we saw a man prostrating, bowing and supplicating in humility. We said, "O Apostle of God, how excellent his prayer is!"

But he replied, "He was the one who expelled your father from paradise."

Then ʿAlī (ʿa) went to him heedlessly and gave him such a shake that sent

his right ribs into his left, and his left ribs into those of the right and said to him, “I will surely kill you by the will of God!”

The man said, “You cannot do that until the end of a term, which is known to my Lord. Why do you want to kill me? For, by God, whoever hates you, my semen has preceded his father’s in settling in the womb of his mother, and I have shared with your haters in wealth and children. This is the saying of God: *And share with them in wealth and children*.”

Then the Prophet (ṣ) said, “O ʿAlī, he has said the truth. No one among the Quraysh will hate you except the fornicators, or among the Helpers, except the Jews, or among the other Arabs, except the bastard, or among the rest of the people, except the damned, or among the women, except the *salqalqiyah* (i.e. she whose menstrual blood flows through the anus).”

Then he bowed his head in silence for a moment and raised it and said, “O Helpers, test your children with the love for ʿAlī (ʿa); if they affirm [their love for him] they are from you, but if they refuse then they are not from you.”

Jābir commented: We used to test our children with the love of ʿAlī (ʿa), and whoever among them loved ʿAlī (ʿa) we knew that they were our children, and whoever hated ʿAlī (ʿa), we repudiated them.

THE SERMONS OF THE APOSTLE OF GOD

His Sermons on the Day of Festival and on the Days of Tashrīq

The Apostle of God (ṣ) was the leader and guide of the Muslims in all facets of their life, religious and worldly, their teacher of the religious creed and ethics, and their model in worship, transactions and political matters. On the other hand God Almighty made it mandatory for Muslims to obey him in both commands and prohibitions. The Qur'ān directs them: *Take whatever the Apostle gives you and relinquish whatever he forbids you.*

Indeed the Apostle (ṣ) had been discharging his duty in the best way, from the inception of his mission to the day of his demise; he conveyed the message, gave good tidings and warned whenever and wherever he deemed the situation favorable. This singular journey was of special significance in this regard; he made it in order to teach the Muslims the Islamic pilgrimage, and encouraged the pilgrims to learn the laws of their religion by saying, "Learn the rites of your pilgrimage from me."

He taught them the rites of ḥajj and the way to perform their devotions and warned them of the strife that might happen in the Muslim body politic after him. He discharged this obligation from the start of the journey, along the way, in noble Makkah and at the venerated stations. Sometimes he talked to a person or a group, and sometimes he gave a sermon to a congregation, sometimes he ascended the pulpit to address a large gathering of the Muslim pilgrims. We can safely say that in whichever place or time the noble Prophet (ṣ) felt the necessity to talk to the people, he promptly did so and discharged his duty in the best way.

His sermon on the Day of Sacrifice

We mentioned the sermon the Apostle (ṣ) delivered at ʿArafāt, and pointed out that some writers like al-Bukhārī and al-Nasā'ī named this sermon: *The Apostle's Sermon on the Day of Sacrifice*, and they did not mention any other sermon, either for the day of ʿArafāt or for the Day of Sacrifice.

Some historians mention an address the Prophet (ṣ) made at Minā and its import was similar to the sermon of ʿArafāt, nevertheless, they stated that it was a sermon he delivered at Minā. Among them was Muḥammad ibn Saʿd

who writes in *al-Ṭabaqāt*: ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿAṭā informs us, from Saʿīd ibn Abī-Urūbah, from Qatādah, from Shahr ibn Ḥawshab, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ghannām, from ʿAmr ibn Khārijah who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) addressed us at Minā and I was surely below the neck of his camel as it chewed the cuds and its saliva dripped between my shoulders. He said, "God has allocated to everyone their shares from the estate of the deceased, so no special share is allowed for an heir. [Know that] the child [when fatherhood disputed] is for the husband (lit. for the bed, i.e. the owner of the bed) and as for the adulterer, stones are his lot. Surely, whoever claims as his father someone else, and whoever takes as guardians other than his real masters because of disliking them, on such is the curse of God, His angels and all mankind."

Ibn Saʿd adds: Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashqī informs us, from Walīd ibn Muslim, from Hishām ibn al-Ghazz, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar who said: The Prophet (ṣ) stood between the Pillars on the Day of Sacrifice, during the pilgrimage he performed, and said to the people, "What day is this?"

They replied, "The Day of Sacrifice."

He said, "What city is this?"

They answered, "The Sacred City."

Then he said, "What month is this?"

They answered, "The sacred month."

Then he said, "This is the day of the great pilgrimage, so your blood, wealth and honor are sacrosanct for you like the sanctity of this city in this month and in this day."

Then he asked, "Have I conveyed [the message]?"

People replied, "Yes."

Then he said, "O God bear witness."

Then he bade the people farewell and they said this is the Farewell Pilgrimage.

Ibn Saʿd quotes the same through many chains of narrators. He adds at the end of another similar narration: Beware! Do not turn renegades after me, striking at the necks of one another.

Reports similar to these are recorded in *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*.

It is evident that the content of this sermon is the same as that of the one we have mentioned before, and from this fact we infer that he had delivered this sermon at ʿArafāt and probably repeated it at Minā.

Ibn Shaybah relates that Mujāhid and Masrūq have narrated that the Prophet (ṣ) addressed the people on the Day of Sacrifice.

In the same vein, al-Bayhaqī reports that two men from the Banū-Bakr tribe said: We saw the Apostle of God (ṣ) giving a sermon amidst the people during the days of Tashrīq, and we were near his camel. It was the sermon he delivered at Minā.

Al-Bayhaqī further said: ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdān informed us, from Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, from Abū-Muslim Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Abū-Naṣr ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿUmar ibn Qatādah al-Nuʿmānī, from Abū-ʿAmr Ismāʿīl ibn Nujayd al-Salamī, from Abū-Muslim Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Baṣrī, from Abū-ʿĀṣim, from Rabīʿah ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥiṣn al-Ghanawī, from Surrah bint Nabhān (who owned property during the pre-Islamic era) who said: I heard the Apostle of God (ṣ) saying during the Farewell Pilgrimage, “Do you know what day this is?”

It was the day they called the Day of Heads. However, the people said, “God and His Apostle know best.”

Then he said, “This is the middle of the days of Tashrīq. Do you know what city this is?”

They said, “God and His Apostle know best.”

He said, “This is the Holy Mashʿar.”

Then he said, “I do not know, perhaps I may not meet you again after this day. Certainly, your blood, wealth and honor are sacrosanct like the sanctity of this day and this city, until you meet your Lord and He presents an account of your deeds. Let the nearest among you convey [this message] to the farthest. Have I conveyed [God’s message]?”

When we returned to al-Madīnah it was not long before he died.

Al-Bayhaqī adds: Muḥammad ibn Bashshār also related this report from Abū-ʿĀṣim through the same chain of transmission saying: The Apostle of God addressed us on the Day of the Heads…

Musnad Aḥmad: Abū-Naḍrah said: Someone who heard the sermon of the Prophet (ṣ), informed me that he had heard him speaking amidst the people on the day of Tashrīq, “O people, certainly your Lord is one and your father

is one. Certainly there is no superiority for an Arab over a non-Arab, or for a non-Arab over an Arab, or for the red over the black or for the black over the red, except by virtue of being God-fearing. Have I conveyed?"

They answered, "The Apostle of God (ṣ) has conveyed…

Daʿā'im al-Islām: Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) narrated that Imam ʿAlī (ʿa) said: I heard the Apostle of God (ṣ) deliver a sermon on the Day of Sacrifice. He said, "This is the day of immolation (*al-thaj*) and prayer (*al-ʿajj*). Al-thaj is the blood of the sacrifices you slaughter, so whoever is sincere in this rite the first drop of blood will atone for all his sins. Al-ʿAjj means supplication so [raise your voices and] supplicate before God, for by Him in whose hand is the life of Muḥammad, no one leaves this place but God has forgiven him, except one who commits a grievous sin and persists in committing it, who does not intend to desist from it."

It is most probable that he delivered this sermon at Minā on the Day of Sacrifice during the Farewell Pilgrimage, as the expression *this place* indicates. However, it is also possible that he had delivered it sometimes at al-Madīnah on the Day of the Festival of Sacrifice and what was meant by *this place* would then be the prayer ground of the Festival prayer, the spot from which the sermon was delivered to the Muslim congregation. However, al-Bayhaqī's narrations, unambiguously, state that the Prophet (ṣ) delivered it at Minā on the Day of Sacrifice during the Farewell Pilgrimage.

Shaykh al-Ṣadūq relates in *al-Khiṣāl* that Abū-Umāmah said: I heard the Apostle of God (ṣ) saying, "O people, surely there is no Prophet (ṣ) after me and no community [of believers] after you. Worship your Lord; pray the five daily prayers, keep the fast during the month [of Ramaḍān], perform the pilgrimage to your Lord's House, pay the poor dues from your wealth gladly and obey your leaders, so that you will be admitted to the paradise of your Lord."

Although there is no indication in this narration that the Prophet (ṣ) made this speech at the Farewell Pilgrimage, the last two indicate this. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and al-Ḥākim, relate this narration and added: Abū-Umāmah said: I heard the Apostle of God (ṣ) addressing the people in the Farewell Pilgrimage riding al-Jadʿā' (his camel), his leg stretching in the stirrup of the litter, as he said, "O people, do you not hear?"

A man from the rear said, "What do you want to say?"

He said, "Worship your Lord…"

The Prophet's sermon at al-Khayf Mosque

Al-Kulaynī relates: From a number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī-Naṣr, from Abān ibn ʿUthmān, from Ibn Abī-Yaʿfūr who said that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said that the Apostle of God (ṣ) addressed the people in al-Khayf mosque. He said, "May God grant splendor to him who hears my speech, understands it, preserves it and communicates it to those who did not hear it; for there is many a bearer of knowledge who is not a scholar, many a bearer of knowledge who may convey it to someone more knowledgeable than him. By virtue of three things the heart of a Muslim will not harbor deceit: working sincerely for God, loyalty to the leaders of Muslims, and keeping to their community because their call encompasses them [and defends them]. Muslims are brothers; they are equal with respect to matters involving blood; and the least among them may conclude a treaty [with their adversary]."

Al-Kulaynī adds: Ḥammād ibn ʿUthmān also narrated it from Abān, from Ibn Abī-Yaʿfūr and added: "…And they are a single force against their adversary," and also mentioned that the Prophet (ṣ) made the speech during the Farewell Pilgrimage in al-Khayf Mosque at Minā.

Shaykh al-Mufīd also relates this narration in *al-Amālī* through another chain of transmission in which Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) made a speech on the day of Minā…

Shaykh Ṣadūq also related this narration from Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn al-Mutawakkil, from ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Saʿd'ābādī, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālid, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī-Naṣr al-Bazanṭi, from Ḥammād ibn ʿUthmān, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa). He related it in *al-Khiṣāl* as well through another chain of transmission. It is also found in *Jamhartat Khuṭab al-ʿArab*.

Ibn Mājah relates this speech on the authority of Jābir ibn Muṭʿim who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) stood up at al-Khayf of Minā and addressed the people, saying, "May God grant splendor to… because their call encompasses them [and defends them]."

He has mentioned the beginning of the speech alone within many other narrations. Al-Fayrūz'ābādī writes: He returned to his camp site near the mosque of al-Khayf and delivered an eloquent sermon. His voice reached all the people of the camp in their tents and this was among the Prophetic miracles.

About this sermon, Abū-Dāwūd, in *al-Sunan*, relates that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān

ibn Muʿādh al-Tamīmī said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) addressed us while we were at Minā. Our hearing was honed so that we were able to hear him from our tents. He explained the rites of pilgrimage to the people…

Al-Kulaynī relates in *al-Kāfī*: From Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan, from a companion of ours, from ʿAlī ibn Ḥakam, from Ḥakam ibn Miskīn, from a man of the Quraysh of Makkah who said: Sufyān al-Thawrī said, "Take us to Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa)," and I took him to him. We met when he had mounted his animal and Sufyān said to him, "O Abū-ʿAbdullāh, tell us about the sermon of the Apostle of God (ṣ) which he delivered in al-Khayf Mosque."

He said, "Let me finish my business first because I have already mounted, when I come back I will tell you about it."

Sufyān said, "I adjure you by your relation with the Apostle of God (ṣ) to tell me."

So he dismounted and Sufyān said, "Please, order for ink and paper for me so that I will write it."

So he ordered for it and said, "Write: In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The speech of the Apostle of God (ṣ) at the al-Khayf Mosque: May God grant splendor to him who hears my speech…"

Sufyān wrote it down and showed it to him. Then Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) mounted and rode off.

Al-Qummī has mentioned this sermon and, at the end of it, he has added the Prophet's instruction with regard to following the Two Weighty Things. This is not surprising, since he had emphasized this command on many other occasions.

This noble speech is recorded in major Sunni works of *aḥādīth*, such as *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Musnad Aḥmad*, *Majmaʿ al-Zawā'id*, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, *Sunan al-Dārimī*, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*, as well as the Shīʿite work *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*.

The Prophet's sermon at the Ka'bah: Mention of civil strife and dissension after him and the signs of the Hour of Resurrection

After completing his pilgrimage, the Apostle of God (ṣ) came to bid farewell to the noble Kaʿbah. He held the handle of the door and called on the people, "O people!" Those who were in the Sacred Mosque and those who were in the market around it gathered around him. Then he addressed them in this eloquent sermon, mentioning the trials that they would face after him; the

corruption that might creep into the Muslims' morals, actions, and even their creed; and the signs of the Hour that will come to pass. It is noteworthy that this sermon has been recounted in many reports that are almost similar with some differences in some of their expressions. Commenting on the Qur'ānic verse: *Do they wait for anything except that the Hour should overtake them suddenly? Certainly its portents have come.*

Al-Suyūṭī writes in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*: Ibn Mādawayh relates that Ibn ʿAbbās (may God be pleased with him) said: The Prophet (ṣ) finished the Farewell Pilgrimage, then he held the handle of the door of the Kaʿbah and said, "O people, shall I not tell you about the signs of the Hour?"

This narration is mentioned in *mursal* fashion (i.e. incomplete chain of transmission) in Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī's *Muḥāḍarāt al-Abrār*.

Among Shīʿah works that mention this narration is *Jāmiʿ al-Akhbār* as a *mursal ḥadīth* from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī who said: I performed the Farewell Pilgrimage with the Apostle of God (ṣ), and when he completed the prescribed rites of ḥajj he came to bid farewell to the Kaʿbah. He clung to the handle of the door and called out loudly, "O people!" Those who were in the mosque and those who were in the market gathered. Then he said, "Listen! I am going to tell you what will happen after me…"

The author of *Tafsīr al-Qummī* relates in the commentary on the verse: *Do they want anything except that the Hour should overtake them suddenly?* My father informed me from Sulaymān ibn Muslim ibn al-Khashshāb, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Jurayj al-Makkī, from ʿAṭā ibn Abī-Rabāḥ, from ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbbās who said: We performed the Farewell Pilgrimage together with the Apostle of God (ṣ). Then he held the handle of the door [of the Kaʿbah], faced us and said, "Shall I not inform you about the portents of the Hour?"

Salmān was the nearest person to him then, so he replied, "Do, O Apostle of God!"

He said, "Among the portents of the Hour are negligence of the prayer, subservience to base desires, inclination to heretical tendencies, veneration of the wealthy, and exchanging religion for the world. When that happens the heart of the believer will melt inside him as salt melts inside water, because of the bad things he sees which he cannot change."

Salmān said [in surprise], "So, this will happen, O Apostle of God?"

He said, "Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, at that time the people shall be ruled by oppressive princes, wicked ministers, unjust tribal or community leaders and treacherous custodians."

Salmān said, “So this will happen, O Apostle of God?”

He said, “Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens evil will be seen as good and good as evil, the perfidious will be trusted, the trustworthy will be regarded dishonest, the liar will be considered truthful and the truthful will be considered a liar.”

Salmān said, “So this will happen, O Apostle of God?’

He said, “Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens women will rule, the counsel of slave-women will be sought, children will sit on pulpits, falsehood will become admirable, the poor due (*zakāt*) will be become like a fine, the public resources will become plunder, a man will disrespect his parents and treat his friends reverently, and a comet will appear.”

Salmān said, “So this will happen, O Apostle of God?”

He said, “Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens women will become a partner of her husband in trade, rain will scorch, the noble [and kind] will become inclement, the poor will be despised. Then will markets come close to one another, when one will say, ‘*I have not sold anything*,’ the other say, ‘*I did not gain anything*,’ and everyone will blame God.”

Salmān said, “So this will happen, O Apostle of God?”

He said, “Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens a group will rule over the people, if the people complain they will kill them and if they are silent they will infringe on their rights and misappropriate the commonweal, violate their honor and spill their blood. And they will surely fill the people’s hearts with resentment and terror; you will always see the people fearful, terrified, frightened and intimidated.”

Salmān said, “So this will happen, O Apostle of God?”

He said, “Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens something will be brought from the east and something will be brought from the west which will color my nation (i.e. they would beautify themselves by using beauty products that would be imported from the east and the west), so woe unto the weak among my nation from the handiwork of those, and woe unto them from [the wrath of] God. They will have no mercy for the young or respect for the old, and they will never excuse one who does wrong. Their bodies will be the bodies of humans but their hearts, those of devils.”

Salmān said, “So this will happen, O Apostle of God?”

He said, “Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens, men will be contented with men and women with women (an allusion to homosexual tendencies). Boys will be assaulted as [lewd men] young women in their own homes. Men will imitate women and women will imitate men. Women will ride on saddles; may the curse of God descend on such of them in my nation.”

Salmān said, “So this will happen, O Apostle of God?”

He said, “Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens mosques will be adorned the way synagogues and churches are adorned, copies of the Qur'ān will be embellished, minarets will be erected high and there will be many rows of worshippers with hearts full of mutual hatred and tongues in disagreement.”

Salmān said, “So this will happen, O Apostle of God?”

He said, “Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens, males of my nation will adorn themselves with gold, wear silk and brocade and make garments out of leopard skins.”

Salmān said, “So this will happen, O Apostle of God?”

He said, “Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens usury will be prevalent, they will make transactions based on *al-ghaynah* (to sell an article for a stated price the payment is deferred for a known period and then repurchase it from the buyer at a lower price that is paid instantly) and bribe, religion will be downgraded and the world promoted.”

Salmān said, “So this will happen, O Apostle of God?”

He said, “Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens divorce will rise, the prescribed penal laws of God will cease to be implemented, but that will not cheat God in the least.”

Salmān said, “This will really happen, O Apostle of God?”

He said, “Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens singing slave girls and the use of musical instruments will become manifest and the evil people of my community will follow them.”

Salmān said, “So this will happen, O Apostle of God?”

He said, “Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that

happens the rich will go on pilgrimage for tour, the middle class for commerce and the poor for hypocrisy. At that time, some people will learn the Qur'ān for the sake of other than God and take it for musical effect, some will seek religious knowledge for the sake of other than God, illegitimate children will increase, the people will sing the Qur'ān, and they will vie with one another for worldly matters."

Salmān said, "So this will happen, O Apostle of God?"

He said, "Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens when the sacrosanct are violated, sinful deeds are perpetrated, the wicked overpower the good, telling of falsehood spreads, obstinacy is rife, destitution spreads, they will take pride in clothes, rain will fall out of season, they will approve board games and musical instruments, while they disapprove commanding good and forbidding evil. [Such will be the situation] until the believer of that time becomes lowlier than a slave woman, until their readers of the Qur'ān and the devout denounce one another; those will be called in the kingdom of heavens, *the filthy, the polluted*."

Salmān said, "So this will happen, O Apostle of God?"

He said, "Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens the rich will not strive to help the poor; a beggar would ask for alms for two weeks and no one will drop anything in his palm."

Salmān said, "So this will happen, O Apostle of God?"

He said, "Yes, by Him in Whose Hand is my life. O Salmān, when that happens the common people will talk."

Salmān said, "What is that, O Apostle of God, may my father and mother be your ransom?"

He said, "He who did not talk will talk about matters of general importance. Then they will tarry but a while before the earth will set off a mooing sound. All people will think that it rose in their area. They will stay for as long as God pleases. Then the earth will throw forth for them what its bowels contain: gold and silver."

Then he pointed to the columns [of the mosque] and said, "Like this, [but] on that day neither gold nor silver will be of any avail."

The number of sermons the Prophet delivered during the Farewell Pilgrimage

Al-Ḥalabī writes in *al-Sīrah*: The Apostle of God (ṣ) delivered five sermons during the pilgrimage; the first was on the 7th day of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah at Makkah, the second on the Day of ʿArafāt, the third on the Day of Sacrifice

at Minā, the fourth on the day of al-Qār (the Calm) at Minā, and the fifth on the day of the first al-Nafr (the Rush), also at Minā.

The day of al-Qār is the 11th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah. It is so called because the pilgrims are calm on that day unlike the day before and the days that follow it, in which they are busy going back and forth. What is meant by the day of the first Rush is the 12th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah. Despite mentioning the sermons, al-Ḥalabī recounted only two of them: that of the Day of ʿArafāt and that of the Day of Sacrifice, which is the 10th.

Al-Miqrīzi writes in *Imtāʿ al-Asmāʿ*: The Apostle of God (ṣ) gave three sermons during his pilgrimage: the first, a day before the Day of Tarwiyah, at noon in Makkah; the second, on the Day of ʿArafāt, at ʿArafāt when the sun was about to set, before the prayer (and he was riding his camel); the third, on the Day of Sacrifice, at Minā in the afternoon while he was riding al-Quṣwā', his camel. Some say that he delivered the second one on the Day of Sacrifice.

Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī says: Reports show that the sermons that were delivered during the pilgrimage were five: the sermon of the 7th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, the sermon of the day of ʿArafāt, the sermon of the day of Sacrifice, the sermon of al-Qār, and that of the day of the first al-Nafr. His sermon of the 7th day has been mentioned in many books, but the authors have not mentioned its content, they simply remark, "He addressed the people before the Day of Tarwiyah and informed them about their rites." It is probable that he was talking about the rites of ḥajj which they were required to perform at the standing places.

A Shīʿah scholar, Najīb al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Ḥillī, lists recommended sermons including: the sermon before the Day of Tarwiyah in which the Imam informs the pilgrims about the rites of ḥajj; the sermon of the Day of Tarwiyah; the sermon of the ay of ʿArafāt before the noon adhān (which Shaykh Abū-Jaʿfar mentioned while discussing the disputed issues); the sermon at Minā on the Day of Sacrifice, when the sun passed the meridian after performing the noon prayer; the sermon that was delivered after noontime on the day of the first al-Nafr at Minā (Shaykh Abū-Jaʿfar has mentioned this among the disputed issues).

In *al-Khilāf*, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī has only mentioned the Prophet's sermon at ʿArafāt, that of the Day of Sacrifice, and that of the first al-Nafr, but he did not cite any text.

Al-Shawkānī says: They (i.e. Mālikī and Ḥanafī jurists) have said that the

sermons of ḥajj are three: that of the 7th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, that of the day of ʿArafāt, and that of the day after the Day of Sacrifice. Al-Shāfiʿī agrees with them in principle, but instead of the day which follows the Day of Sacrifice, he mentioned the second day after it, and he mentioned a fourth sermon, that is, that of the Day of Sacrifice.

The Prophet spends three nights at Minā and pelts the three pillars

Nocturnal stay at Minā was part of the pre-Islamic ḥajj, and the Arabs of those days used to glorify their fathers and forefathers there, and recount their acts of bravery, generosity and exploits. This is alluded to in the Qur'ān: *When you finish your rites then remember God as you remember your fathers, or with a more ardent remembrance.*

The Almighty endorsed the rite of nocturnal stay at Minā after the coming of Islam so that the pilgrims may engage in supplicating to God the Exalted, worship Him and seek His forgiveness. The Most High says: *Remember God in the appointed days. Then whoever hastens off in a couple of days there is no sin upon him, and whoever delays, there is no sin upon him.*

What is meant by the two or three days in this verse is the time of spending the nights at Minā, as unanimously maintained by exegetes of the Qur'ān and historians.

After the ʿĪd Day, the Apostle of God (ṣ) spent the 11th and the 12th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah in Minā and left it in the morning of the 13th, and each day he did the rite of pelting the three pillars, seven pebbles each. This stoning was a practice of the earlier apostles of God as part of the pilgrimage rites in Makkah. The accursed Satan appeared to them in human form at the place where the pillars stand and tried to tempt them with insinuations, so they pelted it with stones.

Shaykh Ṣadūq relates from his father, who said that Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār informed him from al-ʿUmtakī al-Khurāsānī, from ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar who said: I asked him (i.e. his brother Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar) why pelting the pillars was prescribed and he replied, "Because the accursed Satan appeared to Abraham (ʿa) in the place where the pillars stand so Abraham (ʿa) stoned it and the practice continued."

Shaykh Ṣadūq relates another narration from his father, from Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Ayyūb ibn Nūḥ, from Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār who heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying: The first man to pelt the pillar was Adam (ʿa).

He also said: Gabriel came to Abraham (ʿa) and said, "Throw [the stones] O Abraham," and he threw them at the al-ʿAqabah pillar. The reason was that Satan appeared to him there.

This practice continued as part of the pilgrimage rites carried out at Minā and the Apostle of God (ṣ) endorsed them in the Islamic pilgrimage by pelting the ʿAqabah pillar himself.

In *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, al-Bayhaqī relates that al-Zuhrī said: When he did the stoning, the Apostle of God (ṣ) would throw seven stones at the pillar which was nearest to the mosque (the mosque of Minā), chanting *takbīr* each time he threw a pebble. Then he would move to the front of the pillar and face the House, raise his hands and recite supplications, standing for a long time. Then he would move to the second pillar and throw seven pebbles chanting *takbīr* as he threw each pebble. Then he would move down to the left, next to the valley, stop there, face the qiblah and supplicate. Then he would move to the pillar at ʿAqabah and pelt it with seven pebbles, chanting *takbīr* whenever he threw a pebble. Then he would move away without staying longer at the pillar.

Al-Fayrūz'ābādī says: The Holy Prophet (ṣ) stayed through the second day until noon before the prayer when he walked towards the first pillar—which was nearest to the al-Khayf Mosque—and threw seven pebbles at it, chanting *takbīr* at each throwing. When he finished, he proceeded a little towards the plain where he faced the qiblah and began supplicating, which he continued for the length of time one would recite Sūrah al-Baqarah. On finishing his supplication he moved on to the middle pillar and pelted it as he did at the first. Then he took the left route and walked some steps towards the middle of the plain and prayed as he prayed before. Then he walked towards the al-ʿAqabah pillar, faced it, that is the Kaʿbah was to his left and Minā to his right. Then he pelted it and returned immediately without occupying himself in supplication.

The Apostle of God (ṣ) urged Muslims to pelt the pillars. It is related in *al-Kāfī*: From Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥasan ibn Maḥbūb, from ʿAlī ibn Ri'āb, from Muḥammad ibn Qays who said that Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said to a man among the Helpers, "When you throw stones at the pillars, for each pebble that you throw ten good deeds will be recorded for you, as long as you live."

In this regard, *al-Faqīh* reads: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said: Stoning the pillars is a [source of provisions that are] stored away for the Day of Resurrection.

In *Da'ā'im al-Islām* and *al-Ja'fariyyāt*, Imam ʿAlī (ʿa) is reported to have said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said: The sick shall have the pillars pelted on his behalf.

The Prophet shortens his prayers at Minā

Al-Kulaynī relates in *al-Kāfī*: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from ʿUmar ibn Udhaynah, from Zurārah who said that Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) said: When the Prophet (ṣ) preformed the pilgrimage he stayed in Minā for three days, offering the prayers in two cycles. Abū-Bakr did the same [when he was caliph], ʿUmar did the same and ʿUthmān did the same for six years after which he completed the four cycles. [At one time he] he prayed the noon prayer four units. Then he feigned illness to buttress his innovation. He said to the muezzin, "Go to ʿAlī, and tell him to lead the people in the Afternoon Prayer."

The muezzin went to ʿAlī (ʿa) and said to him, "*amīr al-mu'minīn* ʿUthmān is asking you to lead the people in the Afternoon Prayer," upon which he answered, "In that case I will pray only two cycles as the Apostle of God (ṣ) did."

The muezzin returned to ʿUthmān and informed him of what ʿAlī (ʿa) had said, so he said to him, "Go and tell him: You have no say in the matter, just go and pray as you have been commanded."

ʿAlī (ʿa) said, "No. By God I will not."

So ʿUthmān came out [of his tent] and led the people and prayed four cycles. When Muʿāwiyah became the caliph and gained the support of the people, subsequent to the assassination of Commander of the Faithful (ʿa), he went on pilgrimage and prayed the two cycles of Noon Prayer at Minā. When he said *taslīm* (the closing part of the prayer) the Umayyads, the Tahqīf and other clans who were ʿUthmān's partisans, looked at one another [in surprise] and said, "He has condemned your companion (meaning ʿUthmān), he has opposed him and pleased his enemy."

So they went to him and said, "Do you realize what you have done? You have only condemned our companion, pleased his enemy and disregarded his act and precept!"

"Woe unto you!" Muʿāwiyah replied. "Do not you know that the Apostle of God (ṣ) had prayed two cycles of prayer in this place, then Abū-Bakr and ʿUmar followed suit and your companion did the same for six years? Are you asking me to leave the precept of the Apostle of God (ṣ), Abū-Bakr,

ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān himself, before he introduced the innovation?"

They said, "No. By God we will never be pleased to see anything else from you."

Then he continued, "Excuse me [in this case] and I will reciprocate you, I will return to the precept of your man."

Then he prayed the afternoon prayer in four cycles. Thereafter, the caliphs and governors have maintained this tradition until this day.

It is related in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*: Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Ashyab informs us, from Zuhayr, from Abū-Isḥāq, from Ḥārithah ibn Wahab al-Khuzāʿī (his mother was ʿUmar's wife) who said: I prayed behind the Apostle of God (ṣ) at Minā, while the largest ever number of people gathered. He prayed two cycles of prayer [and it was] during the Farewell Pilgrimage.

Similarly, Abū-Dāwūd says: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd said: ʿUthmān prayed at Minā four cycles.

ʿAbdullāh said: I prayed with the Prophet (ṣ) two cycles, with Abū-Bakr two cycles, with ʿUmar two cycles.

Ḥafṣ said: We prayed with ʿUthmān two cycles at the beginning of his rule, before he later began completing it (i.e. praying four cycles).

Indeed, as the reports declare, the Prophet (ṣ) shortened his prayers at Minā, ʿArafāt and the Holy Mashʿar, and this can be shown to be in accordance with the juristic rules in the matter. Firstly, if the Apostle had deemed himself a resident of al-Madīnah, after his migration from Makkah, then he shortened his prayer in Makkah and the holy standing places on that account, as he did along the way between al-Madīnah and Makkah in both the outward and return journeys; his prayer was the shortened form from the beginning of his journey to its end. If, on the other hand, he considered himself still a resident of Makkah, his prayers should have been in complete form in Makkah, but when he intended to move to ʿArafāt, which was at a distance of four parasangs (a parasang is three miles) from the old city, he would be required to shorten the prayers, as he left Makkah and travelled to Minā, ʿArafāt, the Holy Mashʿar and back to Minā.

The Prophet pelts the pillars on foot for the three days

We have mentioned earlier that the Apostle of God (ṣ) stoned the ʿAqabah pillar on the Day of Festival riding a mount, but in the three subsequent days he stoned all the three pillars walking, because the three pillars were not far from his cupola, which stood inside the mosque of al-Khayf, and there were

few activities in those three days. On the other hand the Day of Festival was full of activity: the Prophet (ṣ) came from Holy Mashʿar to Minā, he pelted the ʿAqabah pillar, slaughtered his sacrifices, shaved, went to the Kaʿbah for the circumambulation and returned to Minā to spend the night. Thus, because of the sheer amount of activity on the Day of Festival, the Prophet (ṣ) had to ride, while for the three subsequent days there was only the stoning of the pillars, so he went there on foot to perform that rite and walked back to his tent.

In this regard, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī relates: ʿMūsā ibn al-Qāsim reports from ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar, from his brother (Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim), from his father, from his forefathers, peace be upon them, that the Apostle of God (ṣ) used to walk to the pillars and do the pelting on foot.

Al-Kulaynī says: From a number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Washshā', from someone, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa), from his father, who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) used to stone the pillars on foot.

Daʿā'im al-Islām: Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said that the Apostle of God (ṣ) used to stone the pillars on foot, but there is no problem in riding to their place.

Al-Jaʿfariyyāt: ʿAlī (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) stoned the pillars on foot, walking to their place and back.

Al-Bayhaqī writes: Abū-ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and Abū-Saʿīd ibn Abī-ʿAmr informed us, from Abū'l-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, from ʿAbbās ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Ashyab, from al-ʿUmarī, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar who said that the Apostle of God (ṣ) used to stone the ʿAqabah pillar riding on a mount and chanting *takbīr* for each pebble. He also said that when these days arrive (that is the days of Tashrīq) Ibn ʿUmar would go the pillars on foot, both when coming and when returning. He said that the Prophet (ṣ) used to do so.

Was Sūrah al-Naṣr revealed at Minā during the Farewell Pilgrimage?

In *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, it is written that Sūrah al-Naṣr was revealed at Minā during the Farewell Pilgrimage, and when it came down the Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "It has announced my death." Then he went to the al-Khayf mosque and gathered the people and addressed them saying, "May God grant splendor to him who hears my speech, preserves it and communicates it to those who did not hear it…

Al-Sunan al-Kubrā: ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿUmar: Sūrah al-Naṣr was revealed to the Apostle of God (ṣ) in the middle of the days of Tashrīq, and he understood that it meant a farewell. He asked the people to bring his camel al-Quṣwā', it was prepared for him and he mounted. He moved to al-ʿAqabah and people gathered around him and he addressed the people.

However we do not find another report that indicates that this Qur'ānic chapter was revealed at the Farewell Pilgrimage, although some narrations state that the first chapter to be sent down to the Prophet (ṣ) was Sūrah al-ʿAlaq and the last was Sūrah al-Naṣr. What is meant here is the complete chapters not just the verses that have been quoted.

From another angle it is well known that Sūrah al-Naṣr was revealed in the closing period of the Prophet's lifetime. *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*: When this chapter was revealed to him, he recited it to his companions and they were gladdened but when ʿAbbās heard it, he wept. The Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "What makes you weep, uncle?" and he replied, "I think it announces [the coming of] your death, O Apostle of God." He said, "Surely it is as you have said." Thereafter, he lived for a short period, in which he was never seen laughing and delighted.

Exempting those with excuses from the nocturnal stay at Minā

During the three nights in which the pilgrims stay at Minā, when the three pillars are stoned during the day, the Prophet (ṣ) allowed his uncle ʿAbbās to leave the nocturnal stay to enable him concentrate on the duty of providing water to the pilgrims at Zamzam. Shaykh al-Ṣadūq relates that his father and Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Walīd said: Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh informed us from Haytham ibn Abī-Masrūq al-Hindī, from Ḥasan ibn Maḥbūb, from ʿAlī ibn Ri'āb from Mālik ibn ʿAyn, from Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) who said: Al-ʿAbbās asked for the Prophet's permission to stay back at Makkah during the nights of Minā and he allowed him, because of the duty of providing the pilgrims with water.

Similarly he permitted some camel herdsmen to do the stoning at night. Al-Kulaynī relates from Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from ʿAlī ibn Ḥakam, from ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ḥamzah, from Abū-Baṣīr who said: Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) permitted camel herdsmen to do the stoning when they arrived at night.

The Prophet leaves Minā on the thirteenth

Pilgrims are allowed to leave Minā for Makkah, or for their homeward journey, from noontime on the 12th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah or the 13th, as the Qur'ān

says: *Then whoever hastens off in a couple of days there is no sin upon him and whoever delays there is no sin upon him, for one who had been God fearing.*

Some of the pilgrims are required to stay for the night of the 13th, but most others are given the choice to leave. This is what the rule requires of the followers of the Prophet's practice, but it remains for us to know which of the two options he himself chose.

In fact he chose to stay the night before the 13th in God's sanctuary, in Minā, and stoned the three pillars the following day. In this regard, Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration says: Then he returned to Minā and stayed there until the thirteenth day, the last of the days of Tashrīq, then he stoned the pillars and moved out of Minā to al-Abṭuḥ.

Al-Kulaynī also relates from Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Jaʿfar, from Ayyūb ibn Nūḥ who said: I wrote to the Imam, telling him that our companions have differed: some say it is better to depart after noontime on the last day while others say before noon.

He wrote me back: Do not you know that the Apostle of God (ṣ) prayed the noon and afternoon prayers at Makkah? This could not have been feasible unless he had departed Minā before noon.

Shaykh Ṭūsī has also related this narration in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*.

The Prophet camps at Al-Muḥaṣṣab

In the morning of the 13th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, the Prophet (ṣ) did the stoning and moved to the al-Abṭuḥ section of Makkah, where he camped at al-Muḥaṣṣab and remained there until the morning of the 14th, when he mounted and set off to al-Madīnah. In *al-Durūs*, al-Shahīd al-Thānī writes: It is recommended for one who wishes to depart on the last day [after accomplishing the rites of pilgrimage] to stay at al-Muḥaṣṣab as an imitation of the Apostle of God (ṣ). This is done by staying in the mosque of al-Ḥaṣabah in al-Abṭuḥ district and having some rest and also lying down on one's back. It is related that the Prophet (ṣ) prayed the noon and afternoon prayers and also the sunset and night prayers there, after which he took a nap and then entered Makkah.

What this scholar means by *the last day*, is the thirteenth day of the month in which the last batch departs, while the first departs on the twelfth.

Shaykh al-Ṭūsī writes in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*: Our companions and others have narrated that if the *tamattuʿ* pilgrim misses ʿumrah of *tamattuʿ* he

should perform it after the pilgrimage, and this is what the Apostle of God (ṣ) commanded ʿĀ'ishah to do.

Al-Faqīh: When you reach the Prophet's mosque—that is al-Ḥaṣabah Mosque—enter it and lie on your back for as long as will give you rest.

In another place in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, Shaykh Ṭūsī relates: From Mūsā ibn al-Qāsim, from Ibrāhīm, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār who said: When you set off [from Minā] and reach al-Ḥaṣabah and that is al-Baṭḥā' you stay there for a short while because Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: My father used to stop [there for a rest] but he would not sleep, then he would move on and enter Makkah. The Apostle of God (ṣ) stopped over there (i.e. al-Ḥaṣabah), when he sent ʿĀ'ishah together with her brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to al-Tanʿīm, [from where] she commenced ʿumrah which she performed [late] because of the indisposition that had afflicted her (i.e. when her menses prevented her from doing ʿumrah together with the other pilgrims). The she did the circumambulation of the House, did the circuiting [between Ṣafā and Marwah] and returned [to al-Ḥaṣabah]. The Holy Prophet (ṣ) then departed on the same day.

It is worthy of note here that the Holy Imams (ʿa) were so insistent on preserving the Prophet's precepts and teachings that they would not omit putting up at al-Ḥaṣabah, although it was not a significant part of the noble Prophet's pilgrimage, as they followed his example in compliance with the Almighty's command: *In the Apostle of God there is certainly for you a good exemplar*.

Al-Wāqidī writes in *al-Maghāzī* that Ummu-Hānī bint Abī-Ṭālib said: The Holy Prophet (ṣ) returned from Minā and stopped over at al-Abṭuḥ until the time he set off for al-Madīnah, he did not stay or even go under the shade of any house.

On this point, al-Azraqī reports that ʿAṭā said: And he did that in his pilgrimage also. He camped at the highland part of Makkah before going to ʿArafāt, and he spent the night before the day of setting out for the return journey on the highest part of the valley.

Relating to this matter, al-Bayhaqī writes: Abū-ʿAbdullāh Isḥāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Sūsī informs us, from Abū'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb, from ʿAbbās ibn Walīd ibn Mizyad, from his father, from al-Awzāʿī, from Ibn Shihāb, from Abū-Salamah ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū-Hurayrah who said that when the Apostle of God (ṣ) wanted to depart Minā he said, "Tomorrow we will, God willing, camp at the Khayf of Banū-

Kinānah, where they swore to a pact for unbelief."

By that he meant al-Muḥaṣṣab, where the Quraysh and Banū-Kinānah clans swore to a pact against Banū-Hāshim and Banū'l-Muṭṭalib sub-clans, that they would not intermarry or have any business with them until they hand over the Apostle of God (ṣ). Al-Bukhārī and Muslim record this in their *ṣaḥīḥ* books among al-Awzāʿī's narrations. Ibn Abī-Shaybah relates: Ḥātim ibn Ismāʿīl informs us, from Aflaḥ, from al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad, from ʿĀ'ishah who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) gave the permission for departure, so we went to the House and he circumambulated it and left before the break of morning.

Was a portion of Ḥijr Ismāʿīl part of the Holy Kaʿbah?

In *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* a report says: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said to ʿĀ'ishah, "O ʿĀ'ishah! Had your people not been only recently under the influence of pre-Islamic culture, I would have ordered the demolition of the Kaʿbah so that the portion which had been removed from it would be restored to it. I would have fixed it (the door) at ground level. I would have [reconstructed the House] with two doors: one opening to the east and another to the west. I would have reconstructed it on the foundations that had been set by Abraham."

In *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl* it is reported that the Apostle of God (ṣ) said to ʿĀ'ishah, "Your people did not fulfill what was required in building the Kaʿbah. Had it not been that they were only recently under the influence of pre-Islamic culture, I would have restored the portion they had removed from it. If your people wish to leave it [in its place] after me, they might do so. Come let me show you what they had left out (and he showed her about seven cubits in the Ḥijr). I would have built it with two doors placed at ground level, one to the east and the other to the west. Do you know why your people raised its door? They did it out of pride so that they would allow no one in, except who they liked. If a man they did not like came to enter they would leave him until he had nearly entered, then push him until he fell."

The Prophet's mention of inadequacy of funds for the reconstruction of the Kaʿbah is recorded in many reports in Sunni works, all of them on the authority of ʿĀ'ishah; I could not find any report from another person about this issue. When ʿAbdullāh ibn al-Zubayr wanted to rebuild the Kaʿbah, he invoked ʿĀ'ishah's report and included some portion of the Ḥijr into the Kaʿbah and opened a door at the back opposite the first door. When al-Ḥajjāj al-Thaqafī killed him, he removed that portion which ʿAbdullāh had annexed to the Kaʿbah, thereby restoring the structure to its earlier condition.

ʿĀ'ishah's report has circulated from one book to another by citation until it became an uncontested issue in Sunni works and the idea found its way into Shīʿah books and even became considered as well-known. Listing the rules of circumambulation, al-Shahīd al-Thānī writes in *al-Durūs*: The sixth is including the Ḥijr within the area that is circumambulated such that, should one pass through it (the Ḥijr) or walk on its wall his circumambulation would not be correct, whether we consider it part of the House, as the well-known (*mashhūr*) opinion maintains, or not.

ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī writes in *al-Muntahā*: It is necessary to include the Ḥijr within the area of circumambulation. Should one pass through the Ḥijr or on its wall or on the parapet-like low wall (*shādharwān*) of the Kaʿbah, his circumambulation would not suffice him… We consider the Ḥijr and the *shādharwān* as part of the House.

In *Tadhkirat al-Fuqahā'*, this scholar states: He should include the Ḥijr in the area he circumambulates. It is [the structure] that is situated between the two Shami sides of the House. It is a place surrounded by a short wall on either side of which is an opening, each facing one of these two sides of the Kaʿbah. The roof spout is supported by it (the Ḥijr). Should one walk on its wall or enter from one opening and go out from the other, passing through the Ḥijr, that circumambulation would not have sufficed, because he would then have walked inside the House.

By these statements, ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī and al-Shahīd al-Thānī were not seeking to prove that the Ḥijr was part of the House, but were trying to show that it was mandatory for the pilgrim to include the Ḥijr in the circumambulation and not to pass through it. To buttress their opinion the two scholars have cited the position which was well-known among Sunnis, as though they had invoked that argument to back their chosen view. Therefore, based on this well known report, part of the Ḥijr that adjoins the Kaʿbah may be regarded as part of the piece of land of the Holy Kaʿbah which, however the Quraysh left out when they rebuilt it because of their inability to build the whole plot. In Shīʿah narrations, many reports have been handed down which encourage the making of devotions like prayers and supplications in the Ḥijr of Ismāʿīl and under the roof spout of the Kaʿbah and this was what the Holy Imams (ʿa) used to do in that venerated place. A question arises here: Was this emphasis laid because that place was part of the plot of the Kaʿbah or because of something else?

There are reports from the Imams (ʿa) which reject the idea that some part of the Ḥijr is a part of the House. Shaykh al-Ṭūsī relates from Muḥammad ibn

Ḥasan, from Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, from Yūnus ibn Yaʿqūb who said: I said to Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) that I used to pray in the Ḥijr and someone told me not to pray the prescribed prayers in it because it is part of the House. "The man has lied," he replied. "Pray whenever you wish."

In another report al-Ṭūsī relates from Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn, from Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Faḍḍāl and ʿAbdullāh ibn al-Ḥajjāl, from Thaʿlabah ibn Maymūn, from Zurārah who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) whether any portion of the Ḥijr is part of the House, and he replied, "No, not as much as a clipping of the finger nails."

In *al-Kāfī*, al-Kulaynī relates from Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd, from Faḍālah ibn Ayyūb, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) whether the Ḥijr or section of it is a part of the House, and he replied, "No, not as much as a clipping of the finger nails. However, Ismāʿīl (ʿa) buried his mother in it, so he disliked that it should be treaded on, therefore he erected a barrier [around] it, and in it lie the graves of some prophets."

These reports show clearly that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) rejected the assertion that a section of the Ḥijr was part of the Holy Kaʿbah.

What the Prophet told a Bedouin of the merits of pilgrimage

Shaykh al-Ṭūsī relates in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* from Mūsā ibn Qāsim, from Ṣafwān and Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh, from his father, from his forefathers, who related that a Bedouin met the Apostle of God (ṣ) [as he was departing from Makkah] and said to him, "O Apostle of God, I set out to perform the pilgrimage but I was late. I am a wealthy man, so tell me what deed to perform with my wealth that will earn me a reward like that of a pilgrim."

The Apostle of God (ṣ) turned to him and said, "Look at Abū-Qubays [mountain]. If Abū-Qubays were yours and if it were pure gold and you spent it in the service of God, you would not have attained what a pilgrim attains. When a pilgrim prepares for the pilgrimage there is nothing he will lift or put down but God will record ten good deeds and erase ten wrong deeds for him. When he mounts his camel whenever he raises up or lets down [his leg as he wears] the leather sock God will record a like number [of good deeds]. When he goes round the House he is freed of [some of] his sins. When he circuits between Ṣafā and Marwah he is freed of [some of] his sins. When he stands at ʿArafāt, he is freed of [some of] his sins. When he stands at the Holy Mashʿar he is freed of [some of] his sins. When he stones

the pillars, he is freed of [some of] his sins."

The Apostle (ṣ) mentioned the other rites of ḥajj and added that the pilgrim is freed of his sins when he performs them. Then he concluded, "How is it possible for you to attain what the pilgrim attains?"

Abū-ʿAbdullāh says: A sin, other than the deadly sins, will not be recorded against the pilgrim for four months while good deeds will be recorded for him.

The first part of this report is related in *al-Kāfī*, *al-Faqīh*, *Thawāb al-Aʿmāl* and *ʿAwālī al-Laʿālī*.

Al-Kulaynī relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ḥammād ibn ʿĪsā, from someone who heard of the Righteous Servant (i.e. Imam al-Kāẓim) and said: I visited him intending to ask him many questions but when I saw him (and heard what he said) the majesty of his speech overwhelmed me so I said to him, "Stretch out your hand or leg for me to kiss," and he stretched out his hand and I kissed it. Then I remembered a saying of the Apostle of God (ṣ) and tears welled up in my eyes. When he saw me bowing my head he remarked: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said: No one circumambulates this House, at the time when the sun passes the meridian, with a bare head and feet, walking with short steps, keeping his gaze down, and touches the Stone at every round without molesting anyone, without ceasing to mention the name of God the Mighty and Sublime, but God, the Mighty and Sublime, records for him 70,000 good deeds, expunges 70,000 bad deeds, raises him 70,000 degrees, frees 70,000 bondsmen on his behalf, the price of each being 10,000 dirhams, grants him intercession for 70,000 people from among his family and grants him 70,000 requests of this world or, if He wishes, of the hereafter.

Some events involving the Prophet that took place during the Farewell Pilgrimage

1. When the Apostle of God (ṣ) moved out of the Holy Mashʿar on his way to Minā, the rode Faḍl ibn ʿAbbās behind him on his mount. Faḍl ibn ʿAbbās was a handsome man with beautiful hair and light in complexion. As they proceeded, a troop of camels conveying women in camel-borne sedans passed by them and Faḍl began gazing at the ladies, so the Apostle of God (ṣ) placed his hand over Faḍl's face. Then Faḍl turned his face to the other side and looked again, and the Apostle moved his hand to that side and covered Faḍl's face again, and turned it away. We have mentioned this incident before.

2. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal relates in his *Musnad* that Ḥārith ibn ʿAmr said that he met the Apostle of God (ṣ) during the Farewell Pilgrimage and said to him, "May my father be your ransom, O Apostle of God! Pray for God's forgiveness for me." And he said, while riding his she-camel that was called al-ʿAḍbā', "May God forgive you all."

Then I turned to the other side hoping that he would pray for me specifically, to the exclusion of the people, and said, "Pray for God's forgiveness for me," and he said, "May God forgive you all."

Then a man said, "O Apostle of God! The *farā'iʿ* and the *ʿata'ir*!" [*Farā'iʿ* were the first young camels that were slaughtered for thanks-giving, and *ʿatā'ir* are sheep or goats that were slaughtered for thanks-giving in the month of Rajab, both were done initially during the pre-Islamic period]."

He responded, "Whoever wishes may sacrifice the *farā'iʿ*, and whoever wishes may sacrifice the *ʿatā'ir*. [However], the *uḍḥiyah* sacrifice [has been] prescribed for sheep and goats. Listen carefully! Surely your lives and wealth are sacrosanct for you like the sacrosanctity of this day and this city."

3. *Sunan Abū-Dāwūd*: ʿUbaydullāh ibn ʿAdī ibn Khiyār said: Two men informed me that they met the Prophet (ṣ) distributing alms during the Farewell Pilgrimage and they requested for some. [The men said:] So he looked at us for a moment and then lowered his eyes. He saw that we were stout men and he said, "If you want, I will give you [but actually] there is no share in it for the rich or the strong that can earn a livelihood."

4. It was said to the Prophet (ṣ), "O Apostle of God, what [forms of] piety [are to be observed during] the pilgrimage?"

He answered, "Agreeable speech and feeding the people."

5. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*: Thawbān said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) slaughtered his sacrifice, then he said, "O Thawbān, treat the meat of this animal." Thereafter, I used to prepare his food from it until he reached al-Madīnah.

6. Shaykh al-Ṭūsī relates that Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said that the Apostle of God (ṣ) instructed the people to do the circumambulation on behalf of those with gastric or intestinal ailments and those with fractures.

7. Al-Barqī relates ʿAlī ibn Ri'āb, from Muḥammad ibn Qays, from Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) who said: The Prophet (ṣ) said to a man from among the Helpers, "When you circuit between Ṣafā and Marwah seven times you will have from God the reward of one who comes for the ḥajj from his country on foot, like the reward of one who frees seventy believing slaves."

8. The Apostle (ṣ) said: Let he who wants the good of this world and that of the hereafter travel to the House, for if a slave of God visits it and prays for his worldly affairs, He will surely grant him the prayers, and if he prays for his otherworldly affairs, He will surely store away for him [the rewards of] the hereafter.

9. It is related in *al-Jaʿfariyyāt* that Imam ʿAlī (ʿa) said that the Apostle of God (ṣ) saw a Yemeni man in a state of *iḥrām* wearing a perfumed cloak, so he directed him to wash away the perfume and not to wear the cloak but he did not ask him to do any atonement.

10. The Apostle (ṣ) said: Zamzam water is a cure for whatever [ailment] it is drunk for.

11. Al-Kulaynī relates: A number of our companions report from Aḥmad, from Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, from Ḥarīz, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī-ʿAbdullāh, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: A man from the Helpers contracted a marriage while he was in *iḥrām*, so the Apostle of God (ṣ) nullified it.

12. The Apostle (ṣ) said: He who dies in this way, having set out for either ḥajj or ʿumrah, shall not be brought for the judgment [on the Day of Resurrection], nor shall he be asked to render the account. It will be said to him: Enter paradise.

13. Al-Bayhaqī writes: Abū-ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī informs us, from ʿAlī, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd, from Ḥasan ibn Jaʿfar ibn Mirdād, from his uncle Ṭāhir ibn Mirdād, from Ḥasan ibn ʿUmārah, from ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Maysarah, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said that the Apostle of God (ṣ) heard a man saying, "At Your service [O Lord] on behalf of Shubrumah!" He asked him, "Who is Shubrumah?" The man replied, "A brother of mine." The Apostle asked further, "Have you performed the pilgrimage for yourself?" The man replied, "No." "Do the pilgrimage for yourself first," ordered the Prophet (ṣ), "then do it for Shubrumah."

14. Ibn Abī-Shaybah reports from Ismāʿīl ibn ʿĀliyah, from ʿAlī ibn Zayd ibn Jadʿan, Abū-Naḍrah, from ʿImrān ibn Ḥuṣayn who said: I went on pilgrimage with the Apostle of God (ṣ). He did not pray save in the two-cycle [shortened form] until he returned to al-Madīnah.

15. In *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* it is reported that a man asked Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), "My father is a very old man and he did not do the pilgrimage. Can I provide for someone to perform it on his behalf?" "Yes," he replied. "A woman asked the Apostle (ṣ) if she could do the pilgrimage on behalf of her old

father and he said: Yes, do so. If your father had a debt and you repaid it, it would relieve him of his obligation."

16. Sawdah bint Zamʿah said that a man came to the Prophet (ṣ) and said, "My father is a very old man who cannot do the pilgrimage." The Prophet (ṣ) responded, "If your father were indebted and you paid his debt would that be accepted of him?" "Of course," the man replied. The Prophet (ṣ) said, "God is the most gracious. Perform the pilgrimage on behalf of your father."

17. Ibn Abī-Shaybah reports from Wakīʿ, from Shuʿbah, from Abū-Bishr, from Saʿīd ibn Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said: A man came to the Prophet (ṣ) and said, "My sister has died without doing the pilgrimage, shall I do it on her behalf?" He said, "If she had a debt and you repaid it, what would have become of her obligation? God is more deserving that obligations to Him should be discharged and defaults made up for."

18. Ibn Abī-Shaybah reports from Wakīʿ from Sufyān, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, from a man who was known as Yūsuf, from Ibn Zubayr who said: A man came to the Prophet (ṣ) and said, "O Apostle of God, my son has died without performing the pilgrimage." "Was he your eldest child?" he asked. "Yes," the man replied.

The Prophet (ṣ) said, "Then do the pilgrimage on behalf of your son. If your son was indebted and you settled his debt, would it not have sufficed?"

19. Al-Bayhaqī says: Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdān, from Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, from Ismāʿīl ibn Isḥāq, from Musaddad, from Abū-ʿUwānah, from Abū-Bishr, from Saʿīd ibn Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said that a woman came to the Apostle of God (ṣ) and said, "My mother had made a solemn pledge (*nadhr*) to do the pilgrimage but she died before she could honor it. Can I perform the pilgrimage on her behalf?"

"Yes," the Prophet (ṣ) answered. "Do the pilgrimage on her behalf. If your mother was in debt would you not settle it?"

"Yes," she replied.

Then he added, "Repay God [what He is owed] because He is more deserving that obligations to Him should be honored."

20. Al-Bayhaqī relates: Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdān, from Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd, from ʿUbayd ibn Sharīk, from Ṣafwān, from Walīd (that is Walīd ibn Muslim), from Shuʿayb ibn Zurayq, from ʿAṭā al-Khurāsānī, from Ghawth ibn Ḥuṣayn al-Khathʿamī who said: I said: "O Apostle of God, the obligation of going on pilgrimage was promulgated when my father had

become so old that he could not ride a mount, shall I perform it on his behalf?"

He said, "Yes, do the pilgrimage for him."

Then I said, "O Apostle of God, is it the same with regard to the case of some of our relatives who died without mentioning the request for it in their wills? Can we perform it for them?"

He said, "Yes, and you will be rewarded."

Then I said, "Can we give alms and fast for them as well?"

He said, "Yes, and alms-giving is better as well as walking to the mosque."

In the last six issues, some incidents may have been the same as others and the slight changes observed among them may have been caused by mistakes on the part of narrators or copiers. Nevertheless we have quoted them as they appeared.

21. Shaykh al-Ṭūsī relates that Abū-ʿUmar narrated from Aḥmad, from Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan al-Qaṭwānī, from Ibrāhīm ibn Anas al-Anṣārī, from Ibrāhīm ibn Jaʿfar ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Salamah, from Abū-Zubayr, from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh who said: We were in the company of the Prophet (ṣ) when ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) arrived, and the Prophet (ṣ) said, "My brother has come to you."

Then he turned to the Kaʿbah, tapped it with his hand and said, "I swear by Him in Whose hand my life is, this man and his partisans are surely the prosperous ones on the Day of Resurrection. He was the first among you to believe in me, the most faithful to God's covenant, the most upright in following the law of God, the most just in leading the people, the one who distributes benefits most equally and the most excellent of you in the sight of God."

Then the verse: *Indeed those who have faith and do righteous deeds–it is they who are the best of creatures*, was revealed. Thereafter, whenever ʿAlī (ʿa) approached, the companions of the Apostle of God (ṣ) would say, "The best of creatures has come."

22. Al-Ḥumaydī relates that Sufyān has narrated from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwah, from ʿĀ'ishah who said: Ṣafiyyah bint Ḥuyay had her menses after she had moved out of ʿArafāt. I told the Prophet (ṣ) about her menstruation and he asked, "Has she detained us, [then]?"

I said, "O Apostle of God, her period started after she had left ʿArafāt. Then

let her leave Minā." Ṣafiyyah was one of the Prophet's wives.

23. Abū-Dāwūd relates that al-Nufayli, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Muḥammad, from Zayd ibn Aslam, from Ibn Abī-Wāqid al-Laythī, from his father who said: I heard the Apostle of God (ṣ) telling his wives during the Farewell Pilgrimage, "[After] this [journey] follows the appearance of the mats."

What is meant by these words of the Prophet (ṣ) is that, after the return from the pilgrimage, his wives should not leave their houses to travel again. In *Musnad Aḥmad* it is reported that Abū-Hurayrah has said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said to his wives in the year of the Farewell Pilgrimage: "[After] this [journey] follows the appearance of the mats." [After that] all of them used to go for ḥajj, except Zaynab bint Jaḥsh and Sawdah bint Zamʿah, who used to say, "By God, we never moved on an animal again after we heard that from the Apostle of God (ṣ)."

Based on these reports, it was not permissible for ʿĀ'ishah to leave her house in al-Madīnah and travel to al-Baṣrah, riding a war camel, as an adversary of the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa).

The Prophet visits Sa'd ibn Abī-Waqqāṣ who was ill and staying in Makkah

Al-Bukhārī relates from ʿAbdullāh ibn Yūsuf, from Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿĀmīr ibn Saʿd ibn Abī-Waqqāṣ, from his father who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) visited me when I was seriously ill in the year of the Farewell Pilgrimage. I said to him, "My sickness has worsened and I am a rich man and my daughter is my only heir, can I give out two thirds of my wealth in alms?"

He said, "No."

I said, "Half of it?"

He said, "No," and added, "[Give] a third, and a third is large (or substantial); it is better to leave your heirs rich than to leave them poor and mendicant. And surely you will be rewarded for whatever you spend for the sake of God, even the morsel you place in your wife's mouth."

Then I said, "O Apostle of God, shall I be left behind [in Makkah] after [the departure of] my companions?"

He said, "If you happen to be left behind and do a good deed, you will surely be elevated a station and a degree further, for every good deed you might do, and perhaps you may live long until a time when some people will derive benefit from you while others shall be harmed by your actions. [Then he

prayed]: O God, accept the migration of my companions and do not let them renege."

However, as for poor Saʿd ibn Khawlah, the Apostle of God (ṣ) expressed grief, because he had died at Makkah.

What is meant by *the year of the Farewell Pilgrimage* which *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* mentions is that the Prophet (ṣ) visited Saʿd at Makkah during the Farewell Pilgrimage, as is stated in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and *al-Muwaṭṭa'*: The Apostle of God (ṣ) paid me a visit when I was sick during the Farewell Pilgrimage [and not in the year of the Pilgrimage but at another place]… The reason that the visit took place during the Farewell Pilgrimage is that the Apostle of God (ṣ) expressed grief with regard to Saʿd ibn Khawlah, who embraced Islam but did not migrate and died at Makkah. Saʿd ibn Abī-Waqqāṣ feared that he might, like Sʿad ibn Khawlah, die at Makkah, after having left it earlier when they migrated to al-Madīnah, and had returned to perform ḥajj in the Prophet's company.

However al-Ḥumaydī has related the same narration, stating that Saʿd ibn Waqqāṣ said: *I fell sick at Makkah in the year of the Conquest and feared that I may die of it. The Apostle of God (ṣ) came to me…* with a slight difference in wording. However, because there are various narrations about this story in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* while Muslim and Mālik are explicit that the visit took place at Makkah during the Farewell Pilgrimage, the time that al-Ḥumaydī's variant has mentioned, is possibly an error on the part of some narrator or copyist.

The Prophet's return journey and the event of Ghadīr Khumm

Having completed his pilgrimage, the Prophet (ṣ) left Makkah on the morning of the 14th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah for al-Madīnah. Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said that the Prophet (ṣ) departed Makkah by the way of Dhū-Ṭuwā. Likewise pilgrims who had come from various other areas (desert settlements, villages and towns) had set out for their places because their leader for ḥajj, the Prophet (ṣ), had instructed them, "Whoever of you finishes his pilgrimage should hasten his homeward journey, because doing so will increase his reward."

So, they departed without delay and seized the opportunity of travelling in the Prophet's caravan, at least for part of the way, since most of those pilgrims went by the same highway as those who came from al-Madīnah, for the first stages of their journey. Thus the Prophet's caravan which left Makkah on the 14th, moved on toward al-Madīnah, covering one stage after

another, until the morning of the 18th, when the Archangel Gabriel (ʿa) came down to the Last Prophet (ṣ) with an urgent message from God Most High. A short time before that Gabriel (ʿa) had come to him several times with that message, but the Apostle of God (ṣ) did not deem the time appropriate for announcing it to the people.

A report is related in *Tafsīr al-ʿAyyāshī* that Zayd ibn Arqam said: Gabriel, the Trustworthy Spirit, descended to the Apostle of God (ṣ) and communicated to him the investiture of ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib's guardianship (*wilāyah*). This was at ʿArafāt, and the Apostle (ṣ) became uneasy on that account, because of his fear that the liars and hypocrites would deny it. So he invited some people, of whom I was one, and sought their counsel on the matter, so that he might act upon our advice during ḥajj, but we did not know what to say. Then he wept and Gabriel (ʿa) said to him, "What is wrong? Are you worried about the command of God, O Muḥammad?"

"Never, O Gabriel," he replied. "However my Lord knows what difficulty I faced from the Quraysh when they had not yet believed in my apostleship."

In a similar narration, Zayd adds: On our way home, when we stopped over at al-Juḥafah and erected our tents, Gabriel (ʿa) descended with this verse of the Qur'ān: *O Apostle! Communicate that which has been sent down to you from your Lord…*

In the same vein, Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) says:, When the Prophet (ṣ) reached al-Juḥafah, Gabriel (ʿa) descended with [the command for the investiture of] the guardianship of ʿAlī (ʿa). [The command for the investiture of] his guardianship had been sent down previously at Minā but the Prophet (ṣ) did not announce it then because of the unfavorable disposition of the people. The last time Gabriel (ʿa) descended with this command, he said: "O Muḥammad, God is sending His greetings to you and saying: *O Apostle! Communicate that which has been sent down to you from your Lord and if you do not, you will not have communicated His message, and God shall protect you from the people. Indeed God does not guide the faithless lot.*"

A close look at the language of this verse and the context in which it occurs will show that there is no other verse in the Qur'ān similar to it, in terms of the severity and the threatening tone in which it addresses the Apostle (ṣ). This was the same person who had been communicating God's commands for more than twenty years without fear of blame from anybody; who, throughout this period, did not neglect his duty of conveying the message that God revealed to him; who did not fear the rejection of polytheists and other unbelievers, but faced their opposition squarely, and defended himself

in the wars they had fought against him; who had endured their persecution, mockery and accusations of witchcraft and insanity; who had endured their inciting tribal leaders and neighbors to fight him, and the minors to molest him; who had endured the killing of his dear ones and supporters, and the severe trials and tribulation, the economic embargo imposed on him and his clan when they were confined to a mountain path for three years, and then, finally, he was forced to emigrate from his homeland. It was probably because of these severe trials that the Prophet (ṣ) observed, "No prophet was persecuted the way I was."

Now with all these trials, that preceded the revelation of this verse, which the Prophet (ṣ) had passed through successfully, what could have been the reason behind Almighty God's warning: *If you do not, you will not have communicated His message*?

There is a subtle indication in this verse and the reports which have been related in its commentary, saying that the Prophet (ṣ) had delayed the communication of this message. If it was really so, then one may enquire as to the reason for that delay. Was that at variance with his own opinion? Did he not find a suitable condition for presenting this issue? Or had he discerned uneasiness in the hearts of some people who called themselves Muslims but were Muslim only in name? Or was he apprehensive that disagreement would arise among the Muslims? Or was he apprehensive of the malevolent tongues of some or the disobedience from others, as the Qur'ānic expression: *God shall protect you from the people*, alludes to?

So what was this new divine communication which should the Prophet (ṣ) not have conveyed to the people, it would have been as if he had not communicated anything at all throughout his mission, not a glad tiding, not a warning, not any guidance? Let the reader ponder again on these words: *O Apostle! Communicate that which has been sent down to you from your Lord, and if you do not, you will not have communicated His message.* Do they sound like the Lover addressing His Beloved, or, were they meant to convey a very momentous matter? Another question is: What is meant by *that which has been sent down to you from your Lord*? Was it prayer, fasting, jihad or pilgrimage? Or did it pertain to the laws of business or social transactions, or, the secondary issues of the laws of Islam? An examination of Islamic laws and teachings and the circumstances of revelation of Qur'ānic verses reveal no such threatening language and severity of expression towards the noble Prophet (ṣ).

The answers to all these questions are found in the speech the Apostle of

God, Muḥammad (ṣ) delivered at Ghadīr Khumm before the crowd of Muslims; it discloses the secret between God Almighty and His trustworthy Apostle (ṣ), concerning this extraordinary communication.

The Prophet's stop over at Ghadīr Khumm and the investiture of 'Alī as the Imam

When the Prophet's caravan approached al-Juḥafah at Ghadīr Khumm, about 175 kilometers away from Makkah, and before the pilgrims took their separate ways towards their homelands, the Prophet (ṣ) ordered people to attend the prayer in congregation. So the pilgrims gathered in throngs, although it was not time nor place for a stopover. Thus the whole caravan pulled up at Ghadīr, those in front, who had already passed it returned, and those at the rear caught up. The day was so hot that many people had to place their cloaks over their heads to shelter themselves from the scorching sun, some even stood on a portion of their cloaks to save their feet from the burning sand.

The Prophet (ṣ) led the Noon Prayer and after its completion people improvised a pulpit for him, erecting it out of camel saddles to enable the thousands who surrounded him to hear and understand the message God Almighty had commanded him to communicate. We are quoting this noble sermon here from *al-Manāqib* of the Shāfiʿīte scholar Ibn al-Maghāzilī. He writes:

> The Apostle of God (ṣ) said: "May God be Praised. We seek His help, we believe in Him, and we depend on Him; we seek refuge with God from the evil of our selves and our bad deeds. There is no guide for whom He has allowed to go astray, and there is no one who can misguide him who God guides. I bear witness that there is no deity except God and that Muḥammad is His servant and apostle.
>
> O people! No prophet lives more than half of what a previous prophet lived: Jesus, son of Mary (ʿa), lived for forty years among his people, while I have already lived twenty [more]. Surely, I will soon leave you. Surely, I will be questioned and so will you. Have I conveyed to you [the message]? What will you say?"
>
> Then from every direction a man stood up and answered, "We bear witness that you are the servant of God and His apostle. You have communicated His message, you have strived in His way, you have proclaimed His command, and you have worshipped Him up to the time of your death. May God reward you, for the favor you have done

us, with the best reward any prophet is rewarded for what he does for his community."

Then he continued: "Do you not bear witness that there is no deity worthy of worship except God Alone, Who has no associate and that Muḥammad is His servant and apostle, and that Paradise truly exists and that Hell truly exists, do you not believe in the Book, the whole of it?"

They replied, "Yes, we do."

He said: "So I bear witness that you have spoken the truth and believe in what I have communicated to you. Surely I will precede you and you will follow me. You may soon be returned [and meet me] at the Pond, and when you meet me I will ask you concerning my Two Weighty Things –how you treated them after me."

[The narrator said] We were at a loss as to what the Two Weighty Things were, until a man from among the Migrants asked, "May my father and mother be your ransom, O Prophet of God, what are the Two Weighty Things?"

The Prophet (ṣ) explained: "The greater of them is the Book of God the Exalted, which is a cord; one end of which is in the hand of God and the other end in your hands, so hold fast to it and you will not go astray. The lesser one is my progeny. Whoever faces the same direction in prayer (qiblah) as I face and responds to my call, you should not kill them, coerce them or be negligent in supporting them, for I have beseeched the Subtle and Aware on their behalf and He has granted my prayer. He who helps the two [Weighty Things] will have helped me; whoever betrays them, will have betrayed me. Their loyal follower is my loyal follower and their enemy is my enemy.

Certainly, no nation was ruined before you, except after it had followed desires, ganged up against its Prophet's message, and killed those who stood up for justice."

Then he held the hand of ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa), raised it up and said, "To whom I am master this man is also master, and to whom I am guardian this man is also guardian. O God! Be an ally to whoever is an ally to him and be hostile to whoever is hostile to him." He repeated that three times.

Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) crowned ʿAlī (ʿa) with a turban, which he wound round his head with his blessed hands and let its end hang over

his shoulders. Then he instructed the Migrants and Helpers to salute ʿAlī (ʿa) with the title *Commander of the Faithful* and congratulate him on this great station. Then the people, including the prominent companions of the Prophet (ṣ), saluted him with this new title and congratulated him.

This noble sermon is regarded with esteem in doctrinal and historical writings, as well as biographies of the Prophet (ṣ) and the Imams (ʿa), and accordingly, scholars have written many books on this subject. In his encyclopedic work, *al-Ghadīr*, ʿAllāmah al-Amīnī has mentioned twenty-six scholars from both Sunni and Shīʿah sides who have written about the *ḥadīth* of Ghadīr, starting with the doyen of historians, the famous al-Ṭabarī. He also related that, discussing the brief biography of al-Ṭabarī in his *Tārīkh*, Ibn Kathīr has written, "I have seen a book in two large volumes about the ḥadīth of Ghadīr Khumm, which was written by him." Shaykh Sulaymān al-Ḥanafī al-Qundūzī writes in *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah*, "Abū'l-Maʿālī al-Juwaynī, who was known with the epithet *Imām al-Ḥaramayn*, a teacher of Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī, is related to have said in astonishment: In Baghdad, I have seen a book-binder with a volume of the narrations of Ghadīr Khumm on which is written: Volume twenty-eight on the chains of transmission of his saying: *To whom I am master, ʿAlī also is master*, and following this is volume twenty-nine."

Among the people who have written about the *ḥadīth* of Ghadīr Khumm is the eminent scholar ʿAllāmah al-Amīnī, the author of the eleven-volume encyclopedic work *al-Ghadīr*. Another is the outstanding scholar ʿAllāmah Mīr-Ḥāmid Ḥusayn al-Luknawi, the author of *ʿAbaqāt al-Anwār*. The part of this book which discusses the *ḥadīth* of Ghadīr, its paths of transmission, its meaning and merit, has been printed separately in two large volumes.

There is some difference between the versions of this noble sermon as related in the various narrations, but all of them share the portion in which the Apostle addressed the throngs that were assembled in that place in these words: "Am I not more deserving of [directing] your lives than yourselves?" They answered, "Yes, you are." Then he held the hand of ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, raised it up until the whiteness of their armpits showed, and said, "To whom I am master, ʿAlī also is master. O God! Be an ally to whoever is an ally to him, be hostile to whoever is hostile to him, and forsake whoever forsakes him."

Some works such as *al-Iḥtijāj*, *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, *al-ʿUdad al-Qawiyyah* and *al-Yaqīn*, mention a very lengthy sermon which the Prophet (ṣ) delivered

in Ghadīr. A medium version is recorded by some writers like Ibn al-Maghāzilī, in *al-Manāqib* (the narration we have mentioned above); Ibn al-Athīr, in *Usd al-Ghābah* 3:33. 34 nos. 2727, 2728; Aḥmad ibn Abū'l-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad, in *Wasīlat al-Ma'āl fī Manāqib al-'Āl* p. 226 (as quoted in *al-Ghadīr* 1:114); al-Āmulī, in *Ḍiyā' al-'Ālamīn*, which he culled from al-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb al-Wilāyah* (as mentioned in *al-Ghadīr* 1:424. 426); al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, in *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 13:104. 105 *ḥadīth* nos. 36340. 36343; al-Ḥamawīnī, in *Farā'id al-Simṭayn* (1:62. 78 *ḥadīth* nos. 29. 45); Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Mālikī, in *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah* p. 40; Ibn Kathīr, in *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 5:197. 205 and 7:328. 337; Ibn Ḥajar, in *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah* p.42. 49; al-Ḥalabī, in *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah* 3:336. 337; al-Haythamī, in *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 9:259 *ḥadīth* no. 14966; and al-Qarmānī, in *Akhbār al-Duwal* p.102.

Other writers and scholars of *aḥādīth* mention only the central point of this sermon, that is, the Apostle's saying: *To whom I am master, 'Alī also is his master.* More information about the event of Ghadīr can be found in *Biḥār al-Anwār* vol. 37 pp. 108 to 253.

After the Prophet (ṣ) had delivered this sermon the famous poet Ḥassān ibn Thābit said to him, "O Apostle of God, will you permit me to recite some verses concerning ʿAlī that you may hear them?"

"Recite with God's blessing," he replied. So Ḥassān recited his famous poem:

> *Their Prophet calls them on the day of Ghadīr, at Khumm! How deserving of an answer is the Apostle as a caller!*
> *He asked, "Who is your guardian and prophet?" They replied without confusion; "Your God is our guardian and you are our Prophet,*
> *And you will not find us disobedient regarding the guardianship."*
> *Then he said, "Stand up O ʿAlī, for I have approved you as the leader and guide after me;*
> *To whom I am master this man is master, so be faithful, followers of him and allies."*
> *Then he prayed: O God! Be an ally to his allies, and be hostile to those hostile to ʿAlī."*

ʿAllāmah al-Amīnī related these six poetic verses in his *al-Ghadīr*, and mentioned twelve Sunni scholars and twelve Shīʿah scholars who had related them. He also quoted four additional verses from the book of Sālim ibn Qays al-Hilālī and al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī's *'Ilm al-Yaqīn*. The first verse is followed by these three:

> *"Gabriel (ʿa) has come by the order of his Lord, [and said] that you are infallible, so do not flag;*
> *Communicate to them what God, their Lord, has revealed to you, do not fear the enemies;*
> *So he discharged it there and raised his palm and that of ʿAlī, raising his voice high;*

And he added after the sixth verse:

> *"O Lord, support his supporters even as they support him, the leader and guide who, like the full moon, clears away all darkness."*

Then ʿAllāmah al-Amīnī remarked, "On investigation, it appears that Ḥassān had added other verses to these and compiled an ode that included some virtues of the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ)."

The scholar and Gnostic Ibn Ṭāwūs writes in *Iqbāl al-Aʿmāl*, "It has been related that God the Exalted had presented ʿAlī to the enemies on the day of the Earnest Prayer, and they desisted from their enmity, and He presented him to friends on the day of Ghadīr, but they became enemies. What a difference between the two groups!"

The day of the Ernest Prayer is the day the Apostle promised to engage the Christians of Najrān to perform the calling down of God's curse (*al-mubāhalah*) in compliance with the order of God the Exalted: *Say: Come! Let us call our sons and your sons, our women and your women, our souls and your souls, then let us pray earnestly and call down Allah's curse upon the liars.* The Christians came on the appointed day for *mubāhalah* but on seeing the brilliant faces of the five People of the Cloak: Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, peace be on them, they refused to do it for fear that God's wrath might descend on them, and they agreed to pay the non-Muslim tax (*jizyah*).

Perfecting the religion and completing the blessing

Among the Qur'ānic verses that were revealed during the Farewell Pilgrimage, in connection with the investiture of ʿAlī (ʿa), is the verse: *Today, the faithless have despaired of your religion, so do not fear them, but fear Me. Today, I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam as your religion.*

The message in this verse shows that it was revealed at a time when Islam had attained victory and unbelief and unbelievers had been vanquished, after most of the Qur'ān had been sent down and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ṣ) had

expounded Islamic doctrine, laws and ethics. Exegetes of the Qur'ān and scholars of *aḥādīth* from the two denominations Sunni and Shīʿah are unanimous that this verse was revealed during the Farewell Pilgrimage, although they differ on whether it had descended at ʿArafāt on the 9th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, or at Ghadīr Khumm on the 18th. A number of Sunni sources have related a narration that says that the Jews told ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, "You recite a verse in your book which if it had descended on us, we the Jews, would have regarded the day it was revealed a festival."

"Which verse is that?" he asked.

"It is: *Today I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed My blessing upon you*."

ʿUmar returned, "By God I know the day and hour it was revealed on the Apostle of God (ṣ): it was revealed to him in the evening of the Day of ʿArafāt on Friday."

A similar narration is related from Ibn ʿAbbās.

This set of reports indicates that the verse was sent down at ʿArafāt on the 9th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah but in other narrations Abū-Saʿīd al-Khudrī and Abū-Hurayrah are reported to have said: On the day of Ghadīr Khumm, which was 18th Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, the Prophet (ṣ) said, "To whom I am master, ʿAlī also is master," and God sent down the verse: *Today I have perfected your religion for you*.

In Shīʿah works, we notice a reverse of what we have heard from Sunni sources, because a great number of narrations in this regard indicate that the noble verse was sent down at Ghadīr Khumm on the 18th of the month, after the Apostle (ṣ) had appointed ʿAlī (ʿa) as leader, guardian and successor, for instance, narrations number 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 19 and 20 that are mentioned in the commentary on this verse in *Tafsīr al-Burhān*. In *Tafsīr al-ʿAyyāshī*, Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) halted at ʿArafāt on Friday, Gabriel (ʿa) came and said to him, "O Muḥammad, God is saluting you and directing you to tell your community: *Today I have perfected your religion for you*—by appointing the guardianship of ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib—*and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam as your religion*."

Tafsīr Furāt al-Kūfī: Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa) said: At ʿArafāt, Gabriel (ʿa) descended to the Prophet (ṣ) with the saying of God the Sublime: *Today I have perfected your religion for you and I have completed My blessing upon you*.

ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī has attempted the reconciliation of the two sets of reports in a beautiful fashion, where he writes: "A reflection on the two verses and the *aḥādīth* that have been reported in the works of the two denominations (i.e. Sunni and Shīʿah) in commentary on these verses; the consecutively transmitted (*mutawātir*) reports about Ghadīr; and a thorough study of the internal dynamics of Islamic society at the closing period of the Apostle's lifetime, would certainly lead to the conclusion that the order to invest ʿAlī (ʿa) with the guardianship had been sent down some days prior to the day of Ghadīr, and that the Prophet (ṣ) was in fact being cautious with respect to some people, for fear that they may not welcome it or they may regard the investiture in bad light, and that might jeopardize his call. Thus he was postponing the communication of this message day after day, until God sent down His express order: *O Apostle, communicate*…!

Thereafter, he did not delay this assignment any further.

Based on this analysis, it is probable that most of Sūrah al-Mā'idah, including the verse: *Today I have perfected your religion for you*... together with the investiture for the guardianship, might have been sent down to the Prophet (ṣ) on the day of ʿArafāt but he might have postponed the proclamation of the guardianship of ʿAlī (ʿa) to the day of Ghadīr Khumm, although he might have recited the verse concerning it on the day of ʿArafāt. However, in some reports the verse was revealed on the day of Ghadīr. This may have arisen from the fact that the Prophet (ṣ) had recited it on that day together with the proclamation of the investiture, since the two were related."

Ghadīr Khumm Mosque

A mosque has been built in Ghadīr Khumm to mark the spot where the Prophet (ṣ) had prayed and delivered his sermon and the Holy Imams (ʿa) had shown great interest in that mosque. Al-Kulaynī relates that Ḥasan al-Jammāl has said: I transported Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) from al-Madīnah to Makkah. When we reached the Mosque of Ghadīr he looked at the left side of it and said, "That is the spot where the Apostle of God (ṣ) stood when he proclaimed: To whom I am master ʿAlī also is master."

There are other narrations from the Imams (ʿa) that urge the believers to pray in this mosque.

From the first Islamic century, the mosque of Ghadīr has been standing in that place until recently, when the Saudi authorities demolished it along with other Prophetic relics and historic sites, which they had not yet destroyed, with the pretext of obliterating polytheism!

Some events that happened when the Apostle was on his way back to al-Madīnah

On his way back to al-Madīnah, the Apostle of God (ṣ) reached Baṭn al-Rawḥā', the place where a woman had brought her sick child when he passed by it on his outward journey, and the Prophet (ṣ) had spat in his mouth and told her to inform him what had become of him when he returned. The woman went out to meet and welcome him, taking with her two rams, cottage cheese and butter. She said, "O Apostle of God, take these rams." So, he took what he wanted from the presents. In other narrations, he accepted the cottage cheese and the butter and he said to Usāmah, "Take one of the rams and return the other to her," and Usāmah said, "So I did."

Then the woman said, "I swear by the One Who has honored you, we have not seen any [bad] thing since you left us."

Al-Ḥumaydī writes in *Musnad*: Sufyān informs us, from Ibrāhīm ibn ʿUqbah, from his brother Mūsā ibn ʿUqbah who said: I heard Karīb saying that he had heard Ibn ʿAbbās saying: The Apostle of God set out to return home and when he reached al-Rawḥā' he met a group of riders and saluted them and they returned his greetings. Then he asked, "Who are you?"

They replied, "Muslims, and who are you?"

"I am the Apostle of God," he replied.

On hearing this, a woman came forward holding up a child of hers from the camel saddle and said, "O Apostle of God, will the pilgrimage of this one be accepted?"

He replied, "Yes, and you have the reward."

Conspiracy to assassinate the Prophet

A number of *aḥādīth* and historical reports mention that a group of hypocrites, who were only Muslim in name, who were fourteen or fifteen in number, had had a secret meeting at which they swore to a covenant to assassinate the Apostle of God (ṣ), while he passed through the steep mountain path on the way to al-Madīnah. Most historians and scholars of *aḥādīth* maintain that that incident took place when the Prophet (ṣ) was returning to al-Madīnah from the Tabūk campaign, but other sources such as, *Tafsīr al-Qummī* and *Irshād al-Qulūb*, hold that this plot was hatched when he was returning from the Farewell Pilgrimage.

Discussing the Farewell Pilgrimage, the author of *Tafsīr al-Qummī* writes: A group of his companions had a meeting and said, "Muḥammad wants to

confer the leadership on his family." Four of them went to Makkah, entered the Kaʿbah and made a covenant and concluded a pact, which was written in a document that reads: "If God causes Muḥammad to die or to be killed, this affair (i.e. the leadership) shall never be returned to his family." Then, concerning this, God Almighty revealed these verses to His Prophet (ṣ): *Have they settled on some [devious] plan? Indeed We too are settling [on Our plans]. Do they suppose that We do not hear their secret thoughts and their secret talks? Yes indeed! And with them are Our messengers, writing down.*

Thus the Apostle of God (ṣ) departed Makkah for al-Madīnah and on reaching a place called Ghadīr Khumm… Then his companions who had reneged after him said, "You have heard what Muḥammad said in al-Khayf Mosque and you have heard what he said here. If he returns to al-Madīnah he will request our oath of allegiance to him (i.e. ʿAlī)."

So they gathered, fourteen of them, and plotted to kill the Apostle of God (ṣ). They laid in wait for him at al-ʿAqabah, which is a steep mountain pass between al-Juḥafah and al-Abwā' that is known as ʿAqabat Arshā (or Ḥarshah). They positioned seven men on the right of the pass and seven on the left to frighten the Prophet's camel when it passed by.

The following night the Prophet (ṣ) led the way and when it became quite dark he moved forward riding his camel sleepily. When he approached the pass Gabriel (ʿa) called him: "O Muḥammad! So-and-so and so-and-so are laying in wait for you." So he looked around and said, "Who is behind me?" Ḥudhayfah replied, "It is I, Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, O Apostle of God (ṣ)."

"Did you hear what I have heard?" He asked.

"Yes," Ḥudhayfah replied.

"Keep it a secret," the Prophet (ṣ) said.

Then he went near them and called them by their names. When they heard his call they fled into the mass of the people, leaving behind their camels, which they had hobbled. Soon the people overtook the Prophet (ṣ), and when they heard what had happened they pursued the conspirators. When the Prophet (ṣ) reached the spot where they had left their camels he recognized the animals and when he halted, he addressed the people saying, "Why did some people make a covenant among themselves in the Kaʿbah that if God causes Muḥammad to die or to be killed this affair shall never be returned to his family?"

On hearing this revelation the conspirators came forward and swore that they

never said, planned or contemplated anything of that sort! So God sent down the verse: *They swear by God that they did not say it, but they certainly did utter the word of unfaith and renounced faith after their profession of Islam. They contemplated what they could not achieve* (assassinating the Apostle of God)*, and they were vindictive only because God and His Apostle had enriched them out of His grace. Yet if they repent it will be better for them, but if they turn away God shall punish them with a painful punishment in this world and the Hereafter, and they shall not find on earth any guardian or helper.*

The Apostle of God (ṣ) returned to al-Madīnah and spent the month of Muḥarram and half of Ṣafar in good health, and then, the sickness which led to his death began.

We could find no one among the researchers of history who held this strange view, that the plot of assassinating the Prophet (ṣ) took place on his way back from ḥajj, except Dr. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Zirrin Kub, a man well versed in history. In the last part of the story of the Farewell Pilgrimage, this scholar mentions the issue of the assassination attempt, saying: The hypocrites disapproved [of the investiture of ʿAlī (ʿa)] so they laid in wait at ʿAqabah in order to kill him, but the Prophet (ṣ) was aware, so their plan was thwarted.

The Prophet spends the night at Al-Mu'arras

When the Prophet (ṣ) reached Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, he stopped over there and spent the night. The people named this place al-Muʿarras, a resting place. The following morning he moved on to al-Madīnah and when he saw the city, he chanted *takbīr* three times and said, "There is no deity except God, He Alone, Who has no associate. The kingdom is His, the praise is His, and He is powerful over all things. [We are] returning, repenting, worshipping, prostrating and praising our Lord. God has made good His promise, He has granted victory to His servant, and vanquished the Confederates single-handedly."

Al-Faqīh: Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār said: Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: When you set out from Makkah towards al-Madīnah and reach Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah on your way back, stop at the resting place of the Prophet (ṣ). If it is time for prayer, obligatory or supererogatory, offer a prayer, and if it is not, stop there for a while, because the Prophet (ṣ) used to take some rest and pray there.

ʿAlī ibn Mahziyār relates from Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ibn Faḍl who said: I said to Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa), "May I be your ransom! Our camel driver passed on without stopping at al-Muʿarras," and he said, "You should go back to it." So we went back.

Ibn Qāsim asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) about taking a bath at al-Muʿarras, and he answered, "No bath is compulsory on you there. The resting that is wanted there is only to pray and lie down, whether one passes by it during the day or the night."

With regard to the position of al-Muʿarras, the author of *al-Madīnah bayna al-Māḍī wa'l-Ḥāḍir* says: The mosque of al-Muʿarras is situated at a distance of a hundred and fifty meters to the south of the mosque of al-Muḥram, and beside it is a well.

What he meant by al-Muḥram is the Mosque of the Tree, which is the place where pilgrims take their *iḥrām*.

Sunan Abū-Dāwūd: Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Madanī said: Al-Muʿarras is at a distance of six miles from al-Madīnah.

Wafā' al-Wafā: Al-Muʿarras is before the ascension point of al-Baydā'.

Therefore it is situated at the end of Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah.

Muḥammad ibn al-Mutahannā al-Ḥaḍramī relates from Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn Shurayḥ, from Dharīḥ al-Muḥāribī who said: I asked the Imam (ʿa) about al-Muʿarras (resting place) of the Apostle of God at Dhu'l-Ḥulayafah, and he replied: By the mosque at the middle of the valley where people used to rest.

The day the Prophet entered al-Madīnah

The Apostle of God (ṣ) had left al-Madīnah for the pilgrimage five days before the end of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, and on the fourth day of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, he was in Makkah. He set off from Makkah on the return journey on the night of the 13th of the month and reached Ghadīr Khumm near al-Juḥafah on the 18th, as we have mentioned before.

There is no report that indicates the day the Apostle of God (ṣ) arrived in al-Madīnah, but we may deduce it this way: he covered the distance from Makkah to Ghadīr Khumm in four days, and since the journey from Ghadīr Khumm to al-Madīnah was longer, one can safely surmise that he covered it in five days, therefore he must have arrived in al-Madīnah on the 23rd of the month, or thereabouts. On this question Ibn Isḥāq says: The Apostle of God (ṣ) returned to al-Madīnah and did not travel out for the rest of the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, Muḥarram and Ṣafar.

In addition to our conjecture, this report shows that the Prophet (ṣ) returned to al-Madīnah some days before the end of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah.

On his return from this blessed journey, the Prophet (ṣ) asked a woman from the Helpers, who had not accompanied him to the pilgrimage what prevented her from going. In this regard, al-Bayhaqī records a report saying: Abū-ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informs us, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb, from Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad, from Musaddad, from Yaḥyā, from Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAṭā who said: I heard Ibn ʿAbbās saying: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said to a woman from among the Helpers—Ibn ʿAbbās has mentioned her name, but I have forgotten it—"What prevented you from travelling with us for the pilgrimage this year?"

"O Prophet of God," she replied. "We had two watering camels. My husband rode one of them with our son and left the other for our watering."

The Prophet (ṣ) said, "When the next month of Ramaḍān comes, go for ʿumrah, because ʿumrah that is done in the month of Ramaḍān is equivalent to a pilgrimage."

Al-Bukhārī related this narration on the authority of Musaddad, and Muslim relates it from Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim, from Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān.

In *al-Ja'fariyyāt*, it is related that ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said to Ummu-Maʿqal (who did not go for the pilgrimage), "Do ʿumrah in the month of Ramaḍān, because ʿumrah that is performed in it is equivalent to a pilgrimage."

The number of pilgrims who attended the Farewell Pilgrimage

In works of history, *aḥādīth*, exegesis of the Qur'ān, biographies and military expeditions, many writers mention that the number of pilgrims who attended the Farewell Pilgrimage was very large, ranging from a hundred thousand to a hundred and forty thousand, regarding these figures as accurate and unquestionable. But we know that in those days, accurate statistics of populations and travelers did not exist, and therefore it was not feasible to quote the exact number of pilgrims. There were no passports and visas then, and the only things a prospective pilgrim needed was a mount and provisions, if he was healthy and the highways were safe.

I have not come across any discussion on this issue. However, we can compare it with contemporary public demonstrations, where the numbers are usually exaggerated. For example, a demonstration may be said to have attracted five hundred thousand participants, while a direct count may reveal that their number was not more than fifty thousand. By their nature, this is how current large public gatherings appear to the eye, and this must have been true for the way such gatherings were viewed in the olden days. Thus

the number of more than a hundred thousand that has been given for the pilgrims who attended the Farewell Pilgrimage must have been a mere conjecture; it was neither a result of enumeration nor received by way of divine communication, so we need to ponder on this issue and assemble the facts that may help in arriving at a clear view.

Writing about the demographics of the Arabian Peninsula during the time of the Prophet (ṣ), two scholars Carlin Mac Audi and Richard Jones estimate the population to have been around five million, two hundred and fifty thousand. This number covered the whole Peninsula; that is, including the countries known today as Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Kuwait, Oman, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates. Considered separately, Saudi Arabia had about two and a half million people during the time of the Prophet (ṣ).

Coming to the narrations, Jābir's report mentions that a lot of people had come to al-Madīnah, all of them seeking to follow the example of the Apostle of God (ṣ) and do the like of what he did.

Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's report says that the residents of al-Madīnah and its villages and the Bedouins, all became aware [of the proclamation for ḥajj] and they gathered to accompany the Apostle of God (ṣ) on ḥajj. They were but followers, who were ready to obey whatever he would command them, and imitate him in whatever he would do.

Al-Wāqidī writes: He decided to travel and he announced the pilgrimage to the people, so a large number of people came to al-Madīnah, all of them wishing to follow the example of the Apostle of God (ṣ) and do the like of what he did.

Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣ: They were one hundred and twenty thousand.

In *Mukhtaṣar al-Sīrah*, Ibn Jamāʿah writes: He went on pilgrimage in the tenth year and one hundred and twenty thousand people stood [at the stations] with him.

Al-Ṭabarsī relates that the people who had set out for the pilgrimage together with him from al-Madīnah, the outlying towns and the Bedouins, were seventy thousand or more.

Describing the Prophet's sermon at ʿArafāt, al-Miqrīzi says: About forty thousand people witnessed the sermon.

Writers have mentioned various numbers for the pilgrims at the Farewell Pilgrimage, from ninety thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand.

To begin our argument, let us mention that, in the battle of Ḥunayn, which

took place after the Conquest of Makkah, the number of Muslim soldiers was twelve thousand, ten thousand men were those who conquered Makkah and the two thousand being the Muslim men who were Makkan residents. This approximate number, which is close to reality, was the strength of the Muslim army, which made them conceited on account of their numbers, a situation, which initially brought defeat upon their heads, until God the Exalted later granted them victory. This is attested to in the Holy Qur'ān: *God has certainly helped you in many situations, and on the day of Ḥunayn when your great number impressed you, but it did not avail you in any way, and the earth became narrow for you in spite of its expanse* [that is, you were at a complete loss and at the end of your wits]*, whereupon you turned your backs to flee.*

Commenting on this verse, Shaykh al-Ṭabarsī remarks: The reason behind the defeat of the Muslim army on the day of Ḥunayn was that when they saw their great number, some of the soldiers said, "We shall not be defeated today because of smallness of number," and it was not more than an hour before they were routed. They were twelve thousand. Some say their number was ten thousand, and others say it was eight thousand, but the first view is more accurate and appears more in the narrations.

Muslims during the time of the Prophet (ṣ) did not feel impressed and conceited because of their great number in any other battle before that of Ḥunayn, a fact which indicates that such a number had never gathered in one place before. As is obvious, what accounts for the different numbers that have been mentioned, of the Muslim soldiers at Ḥunayn, is the absence of accurate enumeration of the fighters.

Now let us present the numbers of participants in five major campaigns that took place near the end the Prophet's lifetime, when Islam had already gained ground and the Muslims had acquired strength and authority, with the caveat, of course, that these figures are themselves conjectures, and neither the result of a conscientious endeavor for accurate statistics nor something received from divine communication.

Battle/ Expedition	Year	No. of participants			***Sources***
		Agreed	Less	More	
The Trenches	5	3000	-		*Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 2:66; Al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk* 2:570; *Zād al-Ma'ād* 3:198
			700	300	*Imtā' al-Asmā'* 1:324
Ḥudaybiyah	6		1400	1600	*Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 2:95; *Al-Maghāzī* 1:574

		1400			Ibn Hishām's *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 3:322
			1300	1600	*Imtā' al-Asmā'* 1:324
Khaybar	7	1400			*Al-Maghazī* 2:689; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 2:107; *Imtā' al-Asmā'* 1:322
ʿUmrah of Compensation	7	2000			*Al-Maghāzī* 2:731; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 2:120; *Imtā' al-Asmā'* 1:330
Conquest of Makkah	8	10,000			*Al-Maghāzī* 2:801; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 2:135; al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 3:64; Ibn Hishām's *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah* 4:42; *Majma' al-Bayān* 5:31
Ḥunayn	8	12,000			*Al-Maghāzī* 2:889; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 2:150; Ibn Hishām's *al-Sīrat al-Nabawiyyah* 4:83; *Imtā al-Asmā'* 2:10; *Majma' al-Bayān* 5:31
Tabūk	9	30,000			*Al-Maghāzī* 2:1002; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 2:166; *Imtā' al-Asmā'* 2:51; Ati's *Tārīkh-e-Payambar-e-Eslam* p.627

Al-ʿAyyāshī writes in his commentary on the Qur'ān, that ʿUmar ibn Yazīd said: Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said, initiating the conversation, "How amazing is what has happened to ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, O Abū-Ḥafṣ! He had ten thousand witnesses but could not get his right, while only two witnesses are mandatory for one to have his right. The Apostle of God (ṣ) set out from al-Madīnah for the pilgrimage in the company of five thousand people and returned from Makkah accompanied by five thousand from the people of Makkah."

This report shows that the number of pilgrims who went for the Farewell Pilgrimage was around ten thousand or so.

In *al-Manāqib* Imam Bāqir (ʿa) is reported to have said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) was among 1300 men at Ghadīr Khumm when he said, "To whom I am master this man also is master."

Supposing this report to be correct, this number could be considered to be of those who were surrounding the pulpit on the day of Ghadīr Khumm, otherwise, the number of the pilgrims was certainly well above that.

Jāmi' al-Akhbār: Twelve thousand Yemenis and five thousand Medinites accompanied him from Makkah.

The number from al-Madīnah is plausible unlike that from Yemen, because Yemen had only recently converted to Islam and all the Muslims of that region were not known to be up to that number, not to speak of those who had come for the pilgrimage.

The greatest gathering the early Muslims had witnessed was that of the expedition of Tabūk, in which thirty thousand people are said to have attended, although this number is also speculative. If we accept this number and add to it ten thousand as the number of those who did not attend that expedition [but attended the pilgrimage], five thousand as the number of women, children and slaves who accompanied the Prophet (ṣ) to the pilgrimage, the total come to forty-five thousand. Obviously, this is also an approximate figure and, at best, a guess, nevertheless, it is closer to reality than a hundred thousand. However if forty-five thousand is regarded too small, at most we can add five or ten thousand to put it at a maximum of fifty-five thousand. This is a rough presentation of this issue; a thorough discussion of it will require more space.

COMPARISON OF THE REPORTS OF MUʿĀWIYAH IBN ʿAMMĀR AND JĀBIR IBN ʿABDULLĀH

As we have mentioned earlier there are two lengthy reports in the *aḥādīth* sources of Shīʿites and Sunnis that describe the Prophet's pilgrimage: Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's report in Shīʿah sources and Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī's in Sunni works. Since we have mentioned them quite often in this book, it is appropriate to recount the two narrations in full and compare and contrast them**.**

I remember my teacher Shaykh Jawād Tabrīzī saying one day: We do not have many differences with Sunnis in matters of pilgrimage, because they learnt its rites from our Imams.

And surely one would notice that Jābir's lengthy narration, which is the most comprehensive of all the reports about the rites of the Prophet's pilgrimage, has been related in Sunni works on the authority of Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) and Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa), on the authority of Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī, a staunch follower of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa), completely dedicated to their cause. The pure Imams who were the legatees and successors of the Prophet (ṣ) were wont to relate their narrations through father and grandfather, from their ancestor the Apostle of God (ṣ). They did not stand in need of knowledge from anyone else; in fact others were needful of their knowledge, as is attested to by the fact that even the leaders of the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence had all learnt from them, either directly or through intermediaries. However, Imam Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Bāqir (ʿa) has related the rites of the Prophet's ḥajj from Jābir who was part of the Prophet's retinue in that pilgrimage, as though Jābir was a member of the Prophet's Household (ṣ), the way Salmān al-Fārisī was counted among the noble household by the Prophet himself. The Prophet (ṣ) has said concerning him, "O Jābir! You are among us. May God hate whoever hates you and love whoever loves you."

The narration of Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār is mentioned in the two major Shīʿah compendia of *aḥādīth*, *al-Kāfī* and *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, on the authority of Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), without mentioning the name of Imam Bāqir (ʿa) or that of Jābir. A comparison of the two reports shows that

they are the same in both language and meaning, with of course a slight difference, although their chains of transmission vary. We shall examine the two chains and their narrators first, before recounting the texts of the two reports.

A quick look at the narrators of Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Ammār's report

A) This is the sequence of narrators in al-Kulaynī's narration: Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī relates it from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father; and from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Faḍl ibn Shādhān both of them (i.e. Ibrāhīm and Faḍl) from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh; that is, Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa).

1. ***Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī***: He was the author of *al-Kāfī* (the first Imāmiyyah compendium of *aḥādīth*) and an eminent Shīʿah jurist. Versed in the knowledge of the traditions, he has related a large number of them and he was the foremost transmitters of the reports from the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa). Al-Kulaynī's knowledge, precision in narrating, reliability and service to the pure Imams (ʿa) were of the highest order.

Concerning him, al-Najjāshī writes: "The teacher and leader of our companions (i.e. Shīʿah scholars) was at Ray during his time. He was the most reliable and precise reporter of *aḥādīth*. He wrote, over a period of twenty years, the voluminous work which is known as *al-Kāfī*."

Ibn al-Athīr writes in *Tatimmat Jāmi' al-Uṣūl*: "Abū-Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Rāzī, the jurist and leader in the Ahl al-Bayt school. He was a great scholar and outstanding man of their school. He has been mentioned among the distinguished men of the third century."

Al-Dhahabī describes him as the master (*shaykh*) of the Shīʿah, the scholar of the Imāmiyyah, and a prolific writer.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī says: "He was among the Shīʿah jurists and writers of their school."

Shaykh al-Ṭūsī writes: "Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī. His agnomen was Abū-Jaʿfar al-Aʿwar. He was an outstanding man, well-versed in the traditions. He had a number of works among which was *al-Kāfī*. He passed away in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 329 A.H. in Baghdad, and was buried at Bāb al-Kūfah."

Elsewhere, al-Ṭūsī said: "His agnomen was Abū-Jaʿfar. He was trustworthy and versed in the traditions. He died in the year 328 in Baghdad, and was buried in the cemetery of Bāb al-Kūfah."

This difference is noticeable with regard to the year of his death. Sayyid al-Khū'ī remarks, "Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī is mentioned in the chain of transmission of a great number of narrations, reaching a total of 15,339."

2. ***ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām***: He was [known as] Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Qummī. He was trustworthy in *aḥādīth*, reliable and dependable. He was of a sound creed. He heard many reports and wrote books. Al-Najjāshī mentioned these qualities about him and enumerated his works. This great man was one of al-Kulaynī's teachers and the latter has quoted him in many places in *al-Kāfī*. He was a great scholar about whose knowledge, excellence and reliability there was unanimity. Sayyid al-Khū'ī says that his name occurs in up to 7,140 reports.

3. ***Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām***: He was the father of the second person we mentioned and the source from whom the son learnt about many of his reports. Original scholars of *rijāl* (science of the biography of narrators) have praised him, but none of them describe him as *reliable*, however this lack of explicit qualification of reliability is of no consequence, because of the praise he earned from the *rijāl* writers. It is on this account that scholars call his reports *good* and dependable.

Nevertheless, there are ways by which Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām can be considered to have been reliable and trustworthy (*thiqah*):

A) In the beginning of *al-Kāfī*, its author says that he decided to compile his work in response to the request of a brother in faith, who asked for a book that would collect the sound narrations from the Truthful Imams (ʿa) and the established norms on which actions should be based, and since Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām was one of the narrators for the reports in *al-Kāfī*, and its author has reported from him very often and in different chapters, we can conclude that al-Kulaynī considered him trustworthy.

B) His son ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm has said in the opening part of his commentary on the Qur'ān, "We shall mention what has come down to us, what our masters and trustworthy people have narrated from those for whom God has made obedience mandatory," and he has related from his father often in this commentary.

C) The name of this scholar is well known in *aḥādīth* literature, and the writers on *rijāl* did not mention him in other than favorable terms, and this is sufficient testimony to his piety, truthfulness and reliability. In addition, the existence of reprehensible traits in prominent narrators cannot be concealed

because any misgiving with regard to them is quickly spread both orally and in writing, unlike obscure people who are cited mentioned only once or twice in works of *ḥadīth*. With regard to the number of Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām's narrations, Sayyid al-Khū'ī writes, "His name appears in the chains of transmission of many narrations, up to 6,414, and no other narrator matched him in number of reports." In any case no jurist has rejected his reports.

4. ***Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl***: He was the person al-Kulaynī relates from directly, and the scholars differ concerning him. The author of *Muʿjam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth* held that this man was Abū'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bunduqī al-Nayshābūrī and maintained that he was reliable, not because of al-Kulaynī's frequent quotation from him, but because his name occurred in the *isnād* (chains of transmission of *aḥādīth*) of *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, which some scholars consider, as a general rule, to be reliable. However, in the closing years of his life, al-Khū'ī changed his mind about the foundation of this rule.

Al-Tustarī, the author of *Qāmūs al-Rijāl*, said that he was Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Nayshābūrī, and refuted those who held that he was Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Bazīʿ, or Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Barmakī. Al-Tustarī has given further explanations in the remarks he made in the epilogue.

In *Jāmiʿ al-Maqāl*, al-Ṭurayḥī says, "The problem is the long drawn dispute between the scholars of the later generations, concerning the identity of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl from whom Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb has related… But it is clear that the stamp of *soundness* (*ṣiḥḥah*) which some later generation scholars put on the *aḥādīth* that have been related from him (we can even say the general upholding of this view with the exception of Ibn Dāwūd); the amount of narrations which the eminent Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb related from him; and the absence of errors and complications in the *aḥādīth* in question, are enough indications for the probity of this narrator. Moreover, his case should not be worse than that of those narrators whose conditions are unknown, but whose paths of transmission are deemed *sound*."

Shaykh al-Bahā'ī prefers the view that he was al-Barmakī. Al-Waḥīd al-Bahbahānī and Mir Dāmād said that this narrator was Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl Bandfar, while al-Taqī al-Majlisī said that he was Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bunduqī Bandfar. In the preface of *al-Wāfī*, al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī writes, "Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl and Faḍl ibn Shādhān are oft-mentioned in the beginnings of the chains of transmission in *al-Kāfī* and *Tahdhīb*, and I

shall refer to them as al-Nayshābūriyyān (i.e. the two scholars of Nayshābūr, indicating that he considers him to be Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Nayshābūrī)," and this appellation has appeared in a number of places in *al-Wāfī*.

In his booklet about Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, Ḥujjat al-Islām Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Shiftī wrote, "The inevitable truth is that he was Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Nayshābūrī whose agnomen was Abū'l-Ḥasan…

On the whole, this statement is free from the previous challenges and buttressed with the supportive facts we have mentioned. So on the whole, we can say that apparently (nay, certainty must even be claimed), this Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl is the same person… and it appears that the *ḥadīth*, of whose chain of narrators he was one, should be counted among the *sound* (*ṣiḥāḥ*) reports if it is free of blemish from other considerations. Therefore he qualifies to be regarded as a reliable narrator from a number of angles."

Al-Khū'ī remarks, "Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb's reports from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl and from Faḍl ibn Shādhān are numerous; they are up to seven hundred and sixty-one."

In any case, Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām's report is acceptable to the scholars, with no one rejecting it.

5. ***Faḍl ibn Shādhān, Abū-Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Nayshābūrī***: He related from Imam Abū-Jaʿfar al-Jawād (ʿa). He was a truthful man with acceptable reports, one of the scholars of the Imāmiyyah, and a prolific writer. He was a revered personality of the Shīʿah, and his fame makes any explanation superfluous. Al-Najjāshī describes him, saying, "Abū-Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Nayshābūrī. His father was a companion of Yūnus. He related from Abū-Jaʿfar al-Thānī or from al-Riḍā. He was reliable and a Shīʿah jurist and theologian. He was an eminent personage of this denomination and well known. Al-Kanjī said that he had written a hundred and eighty books."

Al-Ṭūsī writes in *al-Fihrist*, "Al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān al-Nayshābūrī: a jurist and theologian, a great man. He had a number of works."

Then he enumerated his work. Sayyid al-Khū'ī enumerated the narrations in which this narrator is mentioned as up to 775.

6. ***Muḥammad ibn Abī-ʿUmayr ibn Ziyād ibn ʿĪsā***: He met Abū'l-Ḥasan Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ʿa) and listened to his narrations. He also related from al-Riḍā (ʿa). He was an eminent person who enjoyed a status in our eyes and those of the non-Shīʿah. In *al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyīn*, al-Jāḥiẓ says, "He was among the celebrated men of the Rāfiḍah (i.e. the Shīʿah)."

Al-Ṭūsī says, "Muḥammad ibn ʿUmayr whose agnomen was Abū-Aḥmad was among the clients (*mawālī*) of al-Azd tribe. His name was Ziyād. Both Shīʿah and non-Shīʿah regard him as one of the most reputable, religious and pious of men. Al-Jāḥiẓ said that this reporter was the most outstanding person of his time in all respects. He was a contemporary of three Imams: Abū-Ibrāhīm Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ʿa), although he did not relate narrations from him, al-Riḍā (ʿa) and al-Jawād (ʿa). He wrote many books. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah says that he had 94 books to his credit. Al-Khū'ī said that he is mentioned by the name Muḥammad ibn Abī-ʿUmayr in up to six hundred and forty-five chains of transmission.

His student Faḍl ibn Shādhān relates a story about his devotion, saying, "I went to Iraq and there I heard someone admonishing his companion saying, 'You are a man with a family to support, so you need to have a trade to keep your family, and I fear that your prolonged prostrations may cost you your eyesight.' When the admonisher insisted, the man said to him, 'Woe unto you! You are severe with me. If anyone's eyesight would go because of the length of his prostrations Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr's would have gone. What do you think of a man who went down for the prostration of gratitude (*sajdat al-shukr*) after the dawn prayer, and did not raise his head from the ground until noon.'"

7. ***Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār***: Al-Najjāshī says, "He was a distinguished man among our companions, a leader of high status and a reliable person. Muʿāwiyah has related from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) and Abū'l-Ḥasan Mūsā (ʿa) and he has written some books."

After mentioning his work and his paths of narration from the man, al-Najjāshī added, "Muʿāwiyah died in the year 175 A.H."

Muʿāwiyah has narrated reports on the authority of Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa), Abū-ʿAbdullāh al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) and al-ʿAbd al-Ṣāliḥ Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ʿa). He is mentioned in many reports, which number up to 964.

From the foregoing discussion on the characters of the narrators of this *ḥadīth*, there are no doubts or reservations with regard to its *isnād*, and this means that there is no problem with al-Kulaynī's narration from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām, from Faḍl ibn Shādhān al-Nayshābūrī, from Muḥammad ibn Abī-ʿUmayr Ziyād ibn ʿĪsā, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa). Although some scholars and jurists consider this type of narration as good (*ḥasan*), because of the presence, in the *isnād*, of Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām, about whom the scholars of *riǰāl* have not declared that he was trustworthy (*thiqah*). To be exact, he has

been described as praiseworthy, and many scholars regard such a narration as sound. However, there is no disagreement on regarding this and similar *aḥādīth* as acceptable.

The other narration of al-Kulaynī from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Faḍl ibn Shādhān, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is also faultless, even though scholars have differed with respect to the identity of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, al-Kulaynī's direct informant. But since al-Kulaynī has related a large number of narrations from him there is no problem, as he was among the teachers of al-Kulaynī, who had taken it upon himself to relate only sound narrations upon which the Sunnah is based, as he mentioned in the introduction of *al-Kāfī*.

A look at the narrators of aḥādīth as related by al-Ṭūsī

Shaykh Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī relates this report in his *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, from Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Maḥbūb, from Yaʿqūb ibn Yazīd, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa). He also related it from Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn, ʿAlī ibn al-Sindī and ʿAbbās, the three of them from Ṣafwān, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa). In each of the sections in *Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār* where he mentioned his sources (*mashyakhah*), al-Ṭūsī declares, "Whatever I mention in this book quoting Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Maḥbūb, I have also heard from Ḥusayn ibn ʿUbaydullāh, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār, from his father Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Maḥbūb." As we have discussed some of these narrators above we are going to look at those specific to this chain of transmission.

1. ***Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī***: He was the chief of the Shīʿah and their master in jurisprudence, principles of jurisprudence, *aḥādīth*, Qur'ānic exegeses, the science of *rijāl* and theology. He wrote valuable books in all branches of Islamic scholarship and his work is still extant, God be praised. His eminence and outstanding position was remarkable, and he was famous within all Muslim circles. A number of pamphlets, treatises and books have been written about him and his work. The obviousness of his probity raises him beyond the need to subject him to the test for truthfulness and reliability.

2. ***Ḥusayn ibn ʿUbaydullāh***: The man from whom al-Ṭūsī relates directly. He was Abū-ʿAbdullāh al-Ghaḍā'irī, al-Ṭūsī's teacher and master of *aḥādīth*. He was also the master of al-Najjāshī, and one of the reliable and renowned scholars of the Shīʿah.

His student al-Ṭūsī describes him as "an ardent listener [of *aḥādīth*] who was well informed with regard to the condition of narrators. He wrote some books, which I have mentioned in *al-Fihrist*. We heard narrations from him and he gave us permission to relate all his narrations on his authority. He died in the year 411."

Al-Najjāshī says, "Ḥusayn ibn ʿUbaydullāh ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī, Abū-ʿAbdullāh, was our master, may God have mercy on him. He wrote a number of books."

After enumerating his books, al-Najjāshī added, "He gave us permission to transmit all of them and all his narrations, which he had related from his masters. He died in the middle of the month of Ṣafar of the year 411."

Concerning this scholar, Sayyid al-Khū'ī says, "There should be no hesitation as to the reliability of this man, although not on account of the testimony of Ibn Ṭāwūs and later scholars on his reliability, or because he was a prolific narrator of *aḥādīth*, or because he was an Issuer of Permits (*shaykh al-ijāzāt*, i.e. *aḥādīth* master who issues permits for relating the *ḥadīth*), since factors are of no consequence as I have previously explained, but because he was the master of al-Najjāshī, whose shaykhs were all reliable as we have shown earlier… The name of Ḥusayn ibn ʿUbaydullāh is mentioned a hundred and thirty-six times in the chains of transmission of narrations."

Sunni works such as Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's *Lisān al-Mīzān*, al-Dhahabī's *Mīzān al-I'tidāl* have mentioned Ḥusayn ibn ʿUbaydullāh al-Ghaḍā'irī as the chief of the Rāfiḍah. It should be noted that this man was not the author of *Rijāl al-Ghaḍā'irī*, rather, it was his son, Aḥmad, who wrote it.

3. ***Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār***. He was an outstanding master, one of the Issuers of Permits. He related from his father, Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Ashʿarī and ʿAbdullāh ibn Jaʿfar al-Ḥimyarī, and great shaykhs, such as Hārūn ibn Mūsā al-Talʿakabarī, Ḥusayn ibn ʿUbaydullāh al-Ghaḍā'irī, Ibn Abī-Jīd al-Qummī and Abū'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbbās ibn Nūḥ al-Ṣayrafī have related from him.

There was no explicit statement on al-ʿAṭṭār's trustworthiness, just like the case of many celebrated masters of *aḥādīth*. Later generations of writers on biographies have endeavored to establish his reliability and that of such other narrators through various ways. One of those ways was by induction: since al-ʿAṭṭār was the master of great scholars of *aḥādīth* he must have fulfilled, over and above, the requirement of *ascertaining reliability* (*tawthīq*),

because those scholars would only choose as teachers, impeccable personalities who were worthy to be their masters.

Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nabī al-Jazā'irī counts him among reliable narrators whose truthfulness, however, has not been declared in earlier works. He says, "ʿAllāmah has also described the Shaykh's path [of transmission] in *Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār* through Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Maḥbūb as sound and the name of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-ʿAṭṭār occurs in that sequence of narrators, and, since that narration has not been transmitted through any other path, this implies his probity and uprightness. Similarly, he (i.e. ʿAllāmah) describes as sound his (i.e. Shaykh's) path in *Tahdhīb*, through ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar and al-Ṣadūq's path, through ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥajjāj, both of which include Aḥmad al-ʿAṭṭār as one of the narrators, although there is no other chain of transmission of these narrations of Shaykh and al-Ṣadūq. Moreover, al-Shahīd al-Thānī has considered him reliable in *al-Dirāyah*."

4. ***Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār, Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ashʿarī***: Al-Najjāshī says, "He was the master of our companions (i.e. the Shīʿah) in his time. He was reliable, an eminent personality and a prolific narrator. He has written many books."

All other writers on *rijāl* have followed al-Najjāshī's footsteps.

5. ***Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Maḥbūb, Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ashʿarī al-Qummī***: Al-Najjāshī says, "He was the chief of the Qummis of his time. He was trustworthy, an outstanding jurist of sound theological caliber. He had books to his credit." Then he enumerated the books and mentioned his chains of transmission to this narrator. Al-Khū'ī remarks, "His name is mentioned in the chains of transmission of many narrations, they are up to 1,118."

6. ***Yaʿqūb ibn Yazīd ibn Ḥammād al-ʿAnbarī al-Sulamī***: Al-Najjāshī says, "He has related from Abū-Jaʿfar the Second, (i.e. Imam Kāẓim) (ʿa), and he moved to Baghdad. He was a reliable truthful man." Then he mentioned his works and his paths of transmission from him. Shaykh al-Ṭūsī says that he had many narrations and was reliable. Sayyid al-Khū'ī says that his name has occurred in three hundred and fifty-six narrations. We have treated Muḥammad ibn Abī-ʿUmayr and Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār in the previous section about the narrators of this *ḥadīth* in *al-Kāfī*.

7. ***Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn*** who was known as ***Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb***: Al-Najjāshī writes, "An outstanding and revered person among our companions, who had narrated copious reports and was reliable. He wrote admirable books. He

was dependable." Then he enumerated his works and mentioned his path from him. In *al-Fihrist*, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī says, "Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Abī'l-Khaṭṭāb: a Kūfan who was trustworthy."

Al-Khū'ī says, "His name occurs in many reports, up to a hundred and eighty-nine places."

In *Tartīb Asānīd al-Tahdhīb*, which lists the chains of transmission of the narrations of *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, the author mentions a list of Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Maḥbūb's reports related from Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn.

8. ***ʿAlī ibn al-Sindī***: There is no mention of him in *Rijāl* of al-Najjāshī or in that of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. Al-Kashshī relates that Naṣr ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ has said, "'Alī ibn Ismāʿīl is reliable, and he was the same person as ʿAlī ibn al-Siddī. Ismāʿīl was given the surname al-Siddī."

This is how the name is spelt in Shaykh Ḥasan al-Mustafawi's edition of this book, that is, without the letter *nūn*, while in other editions the name is spelt al-Sindī with *nūn*. There is a lengthy discussion about this matter, and for further explanation the reader may refer to *Muʿjam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth*. There is no harm to the narration on account of this narrator because he was in the category of the previously mentioned Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Abī'l-Khaṭṭāb and the next one, ʿAbbās ibn Maʿrūf al-Qummī.

9. ***ʿAbbās ibn Maʿrūf al-Qummī***: Shaykh al-Ṭūsī describes him as reliable and credible. Al-Najjāshī says, "Abbās ibn Maʿrūf Abū'l-Faḍl, a client of Jaʿfar ibn ʿImrān ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Ashʿarī was a man of Qum and a reliable person." Then he mentioned his works and his paths of transmission from him. Although ʿAbbās is mentioned in this report, that is under discussion, without a surname, it is understood from the books of *rijāl* and biographies that he was I fact the son of Maʿrūf al-Qummī. For instance, under the entry: *ʿAbbās ibn Maʿrūf al-Qummī* in *Jāmiʿ al-Ruwāt*, al-Ardabīlī remarks, "Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Maḥbūb relates from him [a narration] about the form of ablution and two in the section on additions [in the rites] of pilgrimage…" The narration we are discussing appeared in the section on additions in the chapter of pilgrimage in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*. In *Tartīb Asānīd al-Tahdhīb* there is a list of the narrations which Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Maḥbūb related from ʿAbbās ibn Maʿrūf.

10. *Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā Abū-Muḥammad al-Bajalī Bayyāʿ al-Sābirī*: Al-Najjāshī writes, "He was a Kūfan, a trustworthy and important man. His father related from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) and he related from al-Riḍā (ʿa), with whom he enjoyed a high standing. Al-Kashshī mentioned him among the

narrators from Abū'l-Ḥasan Mūsā (ʿa). He served as an agent for al-Riḍā (ʿa) and Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa). His religious persuasion was uninfluenced by the doctrines of the al-Wāqifiyyah sect. He was a great ascetic and devotee. Some members of his sect had attempted to bribe him with a large sum of money… His piety and devotion had surpassed all the people in his category." Then he enumerated Ṣafwān's works and his paths of transmission from him, one of his paths being Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Zayyāt, from Ṣafwān.

To conclude this section, it is pertinent to mention some scholars who have accepted this narration as sound. ʿAllāmah al-Majlisī described this narration as it appears in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* as sound and its version in *al-Kāfī* as "a good (*ḥasan*) one, that is as good as a sound one (*ṣaḥīḥ*)." Writing about sound and good traditions in *Muntaqā al-Jumān*, Shaykh Ḥasan the son of al-Shahīd al-Thānī reckons this narration as sound. In his al-*Ḥadā'iq al-Naḍirah*, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī says it is sound. In many places in *Jawāhir al-Kalām*, Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Najafī describes this narration as sound, and in others, as consecutively transmitted (*mutawātir*). The author of *Madārik al-Aḥkām*, in discussing the *tamattu'* form of pilgrimage, says, "The narrations that have been reported in that context are very many, they have almost reached the level of *tawātur* (the quality of being *mutawātir*). Among them is that which Shaykh [al-Ṭūsī] relates among the sound traditions, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa)."

A brief survey of the sources which mention Jābir ibn 'Abdullāh's narration

Where it is narrated in full

1. ***Abū-Bakr ʿAbdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī-Shaybah al-Kūfī***: He relates from Ḥātim ibn Ismāʿīl, from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), from Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa), from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī. It is proper to note that the first work to record Jābir's narration was *al-Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī-Shaybah, and Muslim related it from him, but because it is simply mentioned in the books that "Muslim related this narration in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*," we will follow their pattern and start with *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. Perhaps this practice originates from the fact that Muslim's work was famous, while *al-Muṣannaf* was either little known or difficult to come by in those days.

2. ***Muslim***: He related it in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū-Bakr ibn Abī-Shaybah and Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm, both of them from Ḥātim ibn Ismāʿīl al-Madanī, from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), from Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa), from Jābir

ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī.

3. ***Al-Dārimī***: He related it from Ismāʿīl ibn Abān, from Ḥātim ibn Ismāʿīl, from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), from Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa), from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh.

4. ***Abū-Dāwūd***: He related it in his *Sunan* from ʿAbdullāh ibn Muḥammad al-Nawfalī, ʿUthmān ibn Abī-Shaybah, Hishām ibn ʿAmmār al-Dimashqī and Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashqī, [all the four related it] from Ḥātim ibn Ismāʿīl from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), from Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa) from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī.

5. ***Ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī***: He related it in his *Sunan* from Hishām ibn ʿAmmār, from Ḥātim ibn Ismāʿīl, from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), from Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa), from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī.

6. ***Al-Bayhaqī***: From Abū-ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, from Abū'l-Faḍl ibn Ibrāhīm, from Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Ziyād and Aḥmad ibn Salamah, from Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm, from Ḥātim ibn Ismāʿīl. [He mentions another path:] Abū-ʿAlī al-Ruzbari informs us, from Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn Bakr ibn Dāsah, from Abū-Dāwūd al-Sajistānī, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Muḥammad al-Nawfalī, from ʿUthmān ibn Abī-Shaybah, Hishām ibn ʿAmmār al-Dimashqī and Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashqī, [all the three related it] from Ḥātim ibn Ismāʿīl from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), from Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa) from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī.

7. ***Al-Bayhaqī*** also relates: Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdān informs us, from Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, from Hishām ibn ʿAlī, from ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥajbī, from Ḥātim ibn Ismāʿīl. [He mentions another path:] Abū-ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informs us, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Yūsuf, from his father, from ʿAmr ibn Zurārah, from Ḥātim ibn Ismāʿīl. [He mentions another path:] Abū-ʿAbdullāh informs us that Abū-ʿAmr al-Maqarrī and Abū-Bakr al-Warrāq related from Ḥasan ibn Sufyān, from Hishām ibn ʿAmmār and Abū-Bakr ibn Abī-Shaybah, both from Ḥātim ibn Ismāʿīl, from Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa), from his father (ʿa), from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh.

8. ***Manṣūr ʿAlī Nāṣif*** in *al-Tāj al-Jāmiʿ li'l-Uṣūl*: From Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa), from his father (ʿa), from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh.

Those who related this narration briefly:

9. ***Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal***: From Yaḥyā, from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), from Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa), from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī.

10. ***Ibn Kathīr***: From Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, from Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd, from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa), from Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa) from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī.

Apart from these scholars, there are many others who related parts of this narration but we will not mention them for fear of making our list unduly long and, in any case, they have cited only fragments of it in the course of scattered discussions that are connected with this report, one way or the other. Commenting on this narration, al-Nawawī writes, "It is a remarkable report that comprises gems of important lessons and essential rules. It is one of the narrations only Muslim has reported; al-Bukhārī did not relate it in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Abū-Dāwūd has related it similar to Muslim's version. Al-Qāḍī [ʿAyyāḍ] says, 'Scholars have greatly discussed the laws that could be derived from this *ḥadīth*. One of them, Abū-Bakr ibn al-Mundhir, has written a large treatise in that regard, in which he derived more than a hundred and fifty legal issues. A thorough examination study of the report will come up with almost the same number in addition.'"

The text of the Ḥadīth; Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's report in Shiʿah works

Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār relates that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) lived in al-Madīnah for nine years without doing the pilgrimage, then God the Mighty and Sublime sent down the verse: *And proclaim ḥajj to people: they shall come to you on foot and on lean camels coming from distant places*, so he asked muezzins to announce at the top of their voices that he would go for ḥajj that year. In this way the residents of al-Madīnah and its villages, and the Bedouins, all became aware and gathered to accompany the Apostle of God (ṣ) on ḥajj. They were but followers who were ready to obey whatever he would command them and waited to see him do a thing and then imitate him. The Apostle of God (ṣ) set out four nights before the end of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah. When he reached Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, the sun had passed the meridian. He took a bath and went to the mosque by the Tree, performed the noon prayer and made the intention for an *ifrād* form of the ḥajj. Then he went further until he reached al-Baydā' by the first milestone, where the people formed two columns. He said *talbiyah* to start the *ifrād* pilgrimage, and drove along sixty-six or sixty-four sacrificial animals. He reached Makkah on the fourth day of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah. He went round the House seven times, prayed two circles of prayer behind the Station of Abraham (ʿa) and returned to the Stone and touched it again, for he had touched it in the beginning of his circumambulation.

Then he said, "Indeed Ṣafā and Marwah are among God's sacraments and I will start with the one God Almighty started with." Muslims thought that the

walking between Ṣafā and Marwah was an innovation introduced by the polytheists, so God the Exalted revealed the verse: *Indeed Ṣafā and Marwah are among God's sacraments so there is no sin on whoever performs ḥajj or ʿumrah to circuit between them*. Then he went to Ṣafā, climbed it, faced the Yemeni corner [of the Kaʿbah], praised God, commended Him and was occupied with supplication for the length of time Sūrah al-Baqarah can be recited with an unhurried recitation. Then he went down and moved to Marwah, where he stood as he did on Ṣafā. Then he descended from it and went back to Ṣafā and continued in this way until he finished his circuiting.

When he was on Marwah, after he had finished his circuiting, he faced people, praised and commended God, and said, "Here is Gabriel (ʿa) (and he pointed towards the back) commanding me to order all those of you who have not driven along their sacrificial animals to conclude (i.e. come out of the state of pilgrim-sanctity, and consider the portion of ḥajj they had already performed as ʿumrah). Had I known beforehand what I know now I would have done myself what I ask you to do. However, I have already come along with my offering, and it is not becoming of whoever has done that to leave this state until the offering reaches its [assigned] place."

Then a man among people said to him, "Shall we go out for ḥajj with dripping heads and hair?"

The Apostle of God replied, "As for you, you will never believe in this."

Then Surāqah ibn Mālik ibn Jaʿsham al-Kinānī said, "O Apostle of God, teach us our religion as though we have been created today. Is this command for this year or for the future as well?"

The Apostle answered him, "It is forever, to the Day of Resurrection."

Then he crossed his fingers and said, "'Umrah has entered ḥajj to the Day of Resurrection."

ʿAlī (ʿa) arrived from Yemen and met the Apostle of God (ṣ) in Makkah. When he entered he found that Fāṭimah (ʿa), his wife, had come out of the state of *iḥrām*. There was a sweet smell about the place and Fāṭimah (ʿa) was wearing dyed clothes, so he enquired, "O Fāṭimah, what has happened?"

"The Apostle of God (ṣ) commanded us to do so," she replied.

Then ʿAlī (ʿa) went to the Apostle (ṣ) to learn the reason for that, saying, "O Apostle of God, Fāṭimah has come out of the state of pilgrim-sanctity and put on dyed clothes!"

"I am the one who obliged the people to do so," he replied.

Then he said, "And you, ʿAlī, what did you intend when you commenced your pilgrimage?"

He said, "O Apostle of God, commencement like that of the Prophet."

Then the Apostle (ṣ) said to him, "Keep your *iḥrām* like me and you are my partner in my offering."

The Apostle of God (ṣ) and his companions camped at al-Baṭḥā'; he did not lodge in the houses. On the Day of Tarwiyah, at noon, he asked the people to take a bath and make the intention for commencing ḥajj, and that was in compliance with the command of God the Exalted: *So follow the creed of Abraham, the upright*. Thus the Prophet (ṣ) and his companions set out for Minā, chanting *talbiyah* for ḥajj. He prayed the noon, afternoon, sunset and night prayers at Minā and spent the night there, and the people were with him until morning.

In the morning the Apostle of God (ṣ) was prepared to set out for ʿArafāt. The Qurayshites used to take the route of Muzdalifah (that is Jamʿ), and they used to prevent other pilgrims from following this route to ʿArafāt, so they hoped that the Apostle (ṣ) would take the same route, but God the Exalted sent down to him the verse: *Then stream out from where the people stream out and plead for God's forgiveness.*

"People" in this verse means Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac (ʿa), because they and those who came after them took this route.

When the Qurayshites saw that the Apostle (ṣ) had passed [along another route,] they were somewhat dismayed, because they had hoped that he would take their route. He went on until he reached Namirah, (which is the same as Baṭn ʿIrnah, adjacent to al-Arāk) and his tent was erected there, and the people erected their tents nearby. When it was noon, the Apostle of God (ṣ) went out, accompanied by the Qurayshites, and moved to the mosque. He had taken a bath and terminated his *talbiyah* prior to that. He exhorted the people, commanding them to do good and forbidding them from doing bad. Then he prayed the noon and afternoon prayers with one adhān and separate iqāmah. Thereafter, he passed on to the *place of standing* and stopped there. The people began scrambling to stand beside the hooves of his she-camel. He moved the animal but the people repeated that action, so he said, "O people, the position of my camel hooves is not the station, the station is all this," and he pointed to [the area that is considered part of the] station, so the people moved back. He did the same at Muzdalifah, [i.e. he pointed to the area which was included in the station of Muzdalifah]. The pilgrims stayed

there up to sunset. Then the Prophet (ṣ) moved toward Muzdalifah, and instructed the people to stream out calmly. He arrived at Muzdalifah which is the Holy Mashʿar and prayed the sunset and night prayers there with one adhān and an iqāmah for each. Then he put up there until he prayed the dawn prayer. The weak ones of the Banū-Hāshim had wanted to move on the previous night, so he allowed them to go, but instructed them not to pelt the Pillar –the pillar of ʿAqabah— until the sun rose. When it had risen he moved on to Minā and threw stones at the ʿAqabah pillar.

The sacrificial camels, which the Apostle of God (ṣ) brought, were sixty-four (or sixty-six) and ʿAlī (ʿa) brought thirty-four (or thirty-six). The Apostle slaughtered sixty-six and ʿAlī (ʿa) slaughtered thirty-four. Then the Apostle instructed that a piece should be cut from the flesh of each camel and the meat cooked. The cooking was done in a large pot, and the Apostle (ṣ) and ʿAlī (ʿa) ate from the meat and sipped some of the broth. The butchers were not given anything of the skins, saddlecloths or the tokens [that hung at their necks to signify their status as offerings]; he gave them out as alms. He shaved, visited the House and returned to Minā, and stayed there until the third of the Days of Tashrīq, on which he stoned the Pillars and moved to al-Abṭuḥ.

ʿĀ'ishah said to him, "O Apostle of God, your other wives will return home having performed pilgrimage and ʿumrah, while I will return with only the pilgrimage."

So he camped at al-Abṭuḥ and sent [her brother] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abū-Bakr to ride her on his camel and take her to al-Tanʿīm, where she did *talbiyah* for ʿumrah, (i.e. a new *iḥrām* for ʿumrah). Then she returned to Makkah and made the circumambulation of the House, prayed at Station of Abraham, walked between Ṣafā and Marwah and returned to the Prophet (ṣ). Then he departed on the same day without entering the mosque or circumambulating the House. He had entered Makkah by the mountain pass [that was the route] of the Medinites, and left it by its lower quarters, by way of Dhū-Ṭuwā.

Jābir ibn 'Abdullāh's report in Sunni works

From Ḥātim ibn Ismāʿīl al-Madanī, from Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ṣ), from his father (ʿa) who said: We visited Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh. He asked who the visitors were until it was my turn, and asked who I was. I said, "I am Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn."

He raised his hand up to my head, then he unfastened my upper button first then the lower one. Then he placed his palm on my chest (at that time I was a young boy) and said, "Welcome, O son of my brother. Ask whatever you like."

So I asked him [some questions]. He was blind. When it was prayer time, he stood up and wrapped himself in a blanket. Whenever he threw it on his shoulders its two ends fell back out of sheer smallness. His cloak was hanging on the clothes rack. He led us in prayer [and after we had finished praying,] I said to him, "Tell me about the pilgrimage of the Apostle of God (ṣ)."

He said, counting nine with his fingers: The Apostle of God (ṣ) stayed for nine years without performing ḥajj, then, in the tenth year, he ordered for a proclamation to be made that he was going for ḥajj. A lot of people flocked to al-Madīnah seeking to follow the example of the Apostle of God (ṣ) and act as he would. We set out with him and when we reached Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah, Asmā' bint ʿUmays gave birth to her son Muḥammad ibn Abū-Bakr, so she sent to the Apostle of God (ṣ) asking him what to do. He replied, "Take the bath, use sanitary protection and a cloth to keep it in place and take the *iḥrām*. Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) prayed in the mosque."

Then he mounted [his she-camel] al-Quṣwā'. Then it rose up [and moved on until it reached] al-Baydā', I looked in front and saw that there were people everywhere, as far as the eye can see; some were riders and others were walking on foot. All directions were full of people: to the right of the Apostle, to his left and behind him. The Apostle of God (ṣ) was among us, the Qur'ān was descending to him, and he knew its interpretation, therefore, whatever he did, we imitated him. He commenced ḥajj by repeatedly proclaiming divine unity: *At Your service, O Lord, at Your service, at Your service. You have no associate, at Your service! Surely all praise is for You and all favors are from You and the dominion is Yours! You have no associate!* People chanted *talbiyah* as he did and the Apostle of God (ṣ) did not disapprove any part of it. The Apostle of God continued chanting his *talbiyah*. We had made the intention of ḥajj and nothing else, for we did not know ʿumrah then.

When we reached the House with him, he touched the Corner and made three rounds at a jog and four at normal pace. Then he went to the Station of Abraham (ʿa) and recited: *And take the Station of Abraham a venue of prayer*. He then stood behind the Station, such that it stood between him and the Kaʿbah [and prayed two circles of prayer]. My father used to say—and I

do not know if he was relating from anybody other than the Prophet (ṣ) that he used to recite Sūrah al-Tawḥid and Sūrah al-Kāfirūn [in these prayers]. Then he returned to the Corner and touched it again.

Then he went out through the door and headed for Ṣafā. When he was near Ṣafā he recited: *Indeed Ṣafā and Marwah are among God's sacraments*. I said, "I will start with the one God Almighty started with."

So he started by climbing up Ṣafā until he could see the House. Then he faced the direction of the qiblah, praised God and commended Him in these words: *There is no deity except God Alone who has no associate, the dominion and the praise are His, and He has power over all things. There is no deity except God Alone. He has fulfilled His promise, granted victory to His servant and alone defeated the confederates.*

Then he supplicated after this [glorification] and repeated it all over three times. Then he descended and went toward Marwah, walking at a fast pace in the valley and a normal one as he began to ascend it, and walked until he reached it, and performed the same rites as he did on Ṣafā. When he came to the end of his circumambulation at Marwah he said, "Had I known beforehand what I know now I would not have brought the offering with me so that I would have changed [what I have already performed of] ḥajj into ʿumrah. Those who have not come with their offerings should terminate their state of *iḥrām* and conclude their rites as ʿumrah."

Then Surāqah ibn Mālik ibn Jaʿsham al-Kinānī stood up and said, "O Apostle of God, is this command for this year alone or for all time?"

The Apostle crossed his fingers and said, "'Umrah has entered into ḥajj (he said it twice) forever and ever."

ʿAlī (ʿa) arrived from Yemen with the Prophet's sacrificial camels and found that Fāṭimah (ʿa) was among the women who had left the state of *iḥrām* and put on dyed clothes and applied kohl. He disapproved of this, but she said, "My father asked me to do so."

ʿAlī used to say in Iraq: So, I went to the Apostle of God (ṣ) and complained on account of what she had done, and asked him to ascertain what she had ascribed to him. He said, "She has said the truth, she has said the truth." [Then he asked me], "What did you say when you made the intention for the pilgrimage?"

I replied, "I said: O God, I start my pilgrimage with the intention like that of Your Prophet."

Then he said, "I have the offerings with me so do not leave your state of *iḥrām*."

[Jābir added] The total number of offerings that ʿAlī (ʿa) brought from Yemen and those that the Prophet (ṣ) brought was a hundred.

Then the people terminated their state of *iḥrām* and clipped their hair, except for the Prophet (ṣ) and those other pilgrims who had come with their sacrificial animals.

On the Day of Tarwiyah, they set off to Minā. They chanted *talbiyah* for ḥajj. The Apostle of God (ṣ) was riding a mount. He prayed the noon, afternoon, sunset, night and dawn prayers at Minā, and stayed for a while until the sun rose. He gave orders that a domed structure of fur be erected for him at Namirah. Then he set out. The Qurayshites were in no doubt that he would stop over at the Holy Mashʿar (i.e. Muzdalifah) as the Qurayshites used to do in pre-Islamic times. But the Apostle of God (ṣ) passed on until he reached ʿArafāt, where he found that his dome had been erected at Namirah and he rested there. When it was past noon, he ordered for his mount al-Quṣwā' to be prepared and he rode to the middle of the valley.

Then he addressed the people saying: Surely, your blood and your wealth are sacred like the sacredness of this day, this month and this city; their violation is unlawful for you. Listen! Every dispute of the pre-Islamic era is trodden under my feet, the blood claims of the pre-Islamic era are abolished, and the first of our blood claims that I terminate is that of Ibn Rabīʿah ibn Ḥārith, who was suckled in the Banū-Saʿd clan and killed by the Hudhayl clan. The usury of the pre-Islamic era is hereby abolished, and the first usury I cancel is that of our family, the usury of ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, it is all abolished. Fear God with regard to women because you have taken them into wedlock as God's trust, you have made their private parts lawful for yourselves by God's word. You have right over your wives and they have rights over you. They should not allow anyone on your beds; if they do so, you can beat them but mildly. You should provide them food and clothing in a befitting manner. I am leaving among you something to which if you hold fast you will never go astray: the Book of God. You will be asked about me, so what are you going to say?

The people replied, "We bear witness that you have communicated the message and discharged your duty faithfully." Then he raised his forefinger up and made a motion as if drawing a line from the sky downwards to the people and saying three times: O God bear witness!

Then adhān was called, and he said iqāmah and offered the noon prayer. Then he made another iqāmah and prayed the afternoon prayer without performing any other prayers between the two. Then he rode again and moved to the station. He faced the qiblah and stood there until the sun set and the yellowish glow of twilight disappeared.

Then he rode together with Usāmah on his mount. He stood at ʿArafāt until the sun set and the twilight partially disappeared, then he rode Usāmah behind him on his camel and started off [toward Muzdalifah], pulling the halter of al-Quṣwā' so tight that the animal's head almost touched the front part of the saddle.

Then he raised his right hand and said, "O people! Calm down! Calm down!"

Whenever he came to a dune, he relaxed the grip to allow the camel ascend it with ease. When he reached Muzdalifah, he prayed the sunset and night prayers together with one adhān and two iqāmah and he did not say any words of glorification between the two prayers. Then he lay down to sleep and woke up at dawn and prayed the dawn prayer with one adhān and one iqāmah. Then he rode on al-Quṣwā' and moved to the Holy Mashʿar, faced the direction of the qiblah (i.e. the Kaʿbah) and embarked on supplicating to God and mentioning His Greatness and Oneness. He continued standing there until the sky became very bright and left before the sun had risen. Riding behind him on his mount was Faḍl ibn ʿAbbās, who was a handsome man with beautiful hair and light in complexion. As they proceeded, a troop of camels conveying women in camel-borne sedans passed by them and Faḍl began gazing at the ladies, so the Apostle of God (ṣ) placed his hand over Faḍl's face. Then Faḍl turned his face to the other side and looked again, and the Apostle (ṣ) moved his hand to that side and covered Faḍl's face again and turned it away. When they reached the valley of Muḥassir, the Apostle of God (ṣ) urged his camel on for a while. Then he took the middle way which led to the biggest Pillar by the Tree, and, when he reached it, he threw seven pebbles at it, chanting *takbīr* as he did so. He used pebbles that could be flung with the fingers and he threw them from inside the valley.

Then he left for the slaughterhouse and sacrificed sixty-three [camels] and passed [the tools] to ʿAlī (ʿa) who slaughtered the rest. He made ʿAlī (ʿa) his partner in his offerings. Then he instructed that a piece of meat should be cut from every camel [and cooked] in a pot. Then they ate some meat and sipped some broth. Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) rode again and moved to the House. He prayed the noon prayer at Makkah and went to the Zamzam where he

met some men of the Banū-ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib clan giving water to the pilgrims. He said, "Draw up [water from the well], O Banū-ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! Had it been for the fear that the people might wrest your office of serving water to pilgrims (*siqāyah*), I would have given you a hand in drawing it." Then they gave him a pail and he drank from it.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRE-ISLAMIC ḤAJJ

Pilgrimage to Makkah and the Holy Kaʿbah had been a common practice since the time Prophet Abraham (ʿa) proclaimed the pilgrimage to the Ancient House. The faithful responded to his call and followed his example by visiting the sanctuary he had built for the purpose of devotion to God and the acquisition of light and guidance. This ritual had been current and well established among the people of the surrounding country for ages, but during the interval when the light of divine guidance had waned and, in its stead, blind ignorance had gained ascendance, some rites of the Abrahamic pilgrimage suffered changes at the hands of ignorant leaders who introduced innovations. As a result, although the physical features of the ḥajj such as the Kaʿbah, the station of Abraham, Zamzam, Ṣafā Marwah, ʿArafāt, Muzdalifah and Minā, and some of the rites and activities associated with them remained unchanged, the spirit of faith and serious devotion to God the Exalted, the owner of the House, had been forgotten. The pre-Islamic Arabs preserved the places but changed the rites and proper custom of ḥajj. Thus they responded to Abraham's invitation but with this chant: "At Your service O God, at your service. There is no associate for you, except an associate that you own. You own him and he owns naught." They visited the House but went round it naked. They offered sacrificial animals, not to God, but to their idols. The residents of Makkah would not stand at ʿArafāt out of arrogance, instead they used to observe the rite of standing from the Holy Mashʿar. They would stream out of the camp, but they would not spend the whole day at ʿArafāt, they would leave it before sunset. They used to sing glories, not of God, but of their fathers and forefathers, and their feats and acts of valor. They used to do ʿumrah, but in other than the months of ḥajj, in which they considered ʿumrah as unbelief. They would consider things forbidden by their idols as lawful, but deemed it a forbidden act for one who was in *iḥrām* to enter his house by the door. They would depart ʿArafāt not calmly, but by spurring the horses and rushing the camels. They believed in the inviolability of the sacred months, but they would delay them and shift them from their positions in the calendar, thereby considering them holy in one year and unconsecrated in another.

There are many other innovations that were introduced during the pre-Islamic era of ignorance, among them we shall dwell on the following:

1. The non-residents of the holy sanctuary do the circumambulation unclothed

Before the advent of Islam, the pilgrims to the Holy Kaʿbah were divided into two categories: the Ḥums, that is the Quraysh, and such other tribes that followed their religion, who used to go round the Kaʿbah dressed. The other was the Ḥillah (the rest of the Arabs) who either did the circumambulation wearing their clothes, then after finishing, removed and discarded them on the path of the people as they went round the Kaʿbah until they were completely destroyed by sun, rain and the tread of feet, or borrowed garments for the circumambulation from one of the Ḥumsians and returned them after completing the rite. When the Ḥillah could not find another garment to wear after going round the Kaʿbah in their own clothes, or if they could not get the Ḥumsian to loan them a garment, they did the circumambulation naked, both males and females.

This practice prevailed until the time the Apostle of God (ṣ) forbade them in the ninth year after the Hegira, when he sent the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) to announce Sūrah Barā'ah to the polytheist pilgrims. The Apostle (ṣ) had instructed him to communicate to them four things, among which was that they should not circumambulate the Kaʿbah naked, as is reported in *'Ilal al-Sharā'i'*, on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās. ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm has also related this order of the Prophet (ṣ) in his *Tafsīr*, through a chain of narrators, from Imam ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (ʿa), from the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ). Similarly, al-ʿAyyāshī recorded it in his *Tafsīr*, from Muḥammad ibn Muslim, from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa); from Abū-Baṣīr, from Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa); from Ḥakīm ibn Ḥusayn from Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (ʿa); and from Ḥurayz from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa). It is also related by Furāt al-Kūfī in his *Tafsīr* from ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) and also from Ibn ʿAbbās, as well as by Shaykh Abū'l-Futūḥ in his *Tafsīr*, and by the author of *Iqbāl*, from ʿAlī (ʿa).

2. The talbiyah of the polytheists

Al-Kulaynī relates a report in which Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) describes *talbiyah* of the Quraysh saying: Then they did *talbiyah* in these words: At Your service, O God, at your service. At Your service! You have no associate, except an associate that you own. You own him and what he owns.

Al-Qummī writes in his commentary on the verse: *He draws for you an example from yourselves: Do you have among your slaves any partners [who may share] in what We have provided you so that you are equal in its respect, and you revere them as you revere one another?*

The occasion of its revelation was that the Quraysh and other Arabs used to chant *talbiyah* in this way: At Your service, O Lord, at Your service! At Your service, You have no associate, at Your service! Surely all praise is for You and all favors are from You and the dominion is Yours! You have no associate! At Your service, Lord of the lofty stations!

This was the *talbiyah* of Abraham (ʿa) and the other prophets. Then [one day] Satan appeared to them in the form of an old man and said, "This is not the *talbiyah* of your forebears."

They asked, "How was their *talbiyah*?"

He replied, "They used to say: At Your service O God, at your service. You have no associate, except an associate that you own. You own him and what he owns."

The Quraysh disliked that expression, but Satan said, "Hold your peace! Let me finish what I am saying."

They said, "What is it?"

He said, "*Except an associate whom you own. You own him and what he owns.* Do not you see that He owns both the associate and what the associate owns?"

They approved of it. [Thereafter], the Quraysh exclusively chanted this *talbiyah*, and when God sent forth His Apostle, he expressed his disapproval of it, calling it an act of polytheism. Then God sent down the verse: *He draws for you an example from yourselves: Do you have among your slaves any partners [who may share] in what We have provided you so that you are equal in its respect*, that is: Would you accept partners in what you possess? If you would not, then why do you think it proper to consider other than God as His partners in what He owns?

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim: ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Aẓīm al-ʿAnbarī informed me, from al-Naḍr ibn Muḥammad a-Yamāmī, from ʿIkrimah (that is ibn ʿAmmār), from Abū-Zāmil, from Ibn ʿAbbās, may God be pleased with him, who said: When the polytheists say, "At Your service! You have no associate," the Apostle of God (ṣ) would say, "Woe unto you! That is enough," but they would add, "Except an associate whom you own. You own him and what he

owns." They chanted this as they went round the Kaʿbah.

Talbiyah of the Arabs of the pre-Islamic era

We are going to quote al-Quṭrub's *al-Azminah*, for the various types of *talbiyah* that had been in practice during the pre-Islamic era:

Talbiyah of Muḍar tribe: We shall begin with the *talbiyah* of the Prophet (ṣ). One scholar informed us that Ibn Isḥāq has said that the Prophet's *talbiyah* was: "At Your service, O Lord, at Your service! At Your service, You have no associate, at Your service! Surely all praise is for You and all favors are from You and the dominion is Yours! You have no associate!"

This was the monotheistic *response* (*talbiyah*). Ibn ʿAbbās says that the *talbiyah* which the pre-Islamic Arabs chanted during their pilgrimage was of various forms:

T*albiyah* of Quraysh: At Your service, O God, at your service. At your service! You have no associate, except an associate that you own. You own him and what he owns; the Father of daughters in Fadak.

Talbiyah of Qays: At Your service, O God, at your service. You are the all-Merciful. Qays ʿAylān have come to You, their foot travelers and riders, their old men and their children, in humility before the Judge.

Talbiyah of Thaqīf: ʿAt Your service, O God, at your service. Here are Thaqīf, they have come to you. They have left their idols behind and glorified You. They have venerated wealth and are hopeful in You. Their ʿUzzā and their Lāt are in Your hands. The idols worship You in reverence and they submit peaceably to You. So forgive them, for how often do You forgive!

Talbiyah of Kinānah: At Your service, O God, at Your service. On the day of ʿArafāt, the day of supplication and standing. And on the morn of shedding the blood of sacrifice.

Talbiyah of Taym: At Your service, as long as the day drags along, during its early hour, its heat and its cold. We are wary of nothing, and nothing do we hurt. [We have come to] You on a pilgrimage of untainted piety.

Talbiyah of Banū-Asad: At Your service, O God, at your service. Our Lord, Banū-Asad have approached; people of loyalty, generosity and steadfastness. With us are magnanimity, shelter and numbers; and wealth, male children and [other forms of] offspring. The One and Irresistible, the Lord and Besought of all [do we worship]; we shall make no devotion to idols until they exert themselves in the service of their Lord. We shall shed the blood

[of the sacrifices] as offering to them [as part of our] pilgrimage to Him and them, that they may come.

Talbiyah of Hudhayl: At Your service, O God, at your service. At Your service, a response from Hudhayl. They have set out early at night, carried by fast camels and horses. They have left behind their idols in the land of Jubayl. They have left behind those who will protect the idols and al-Ṭufayl, at a hill as though it were clad in a heavy cloud. They adore the Lord, Generous, Glorious and Beautiful.

Talbiyah of Rabīʿbah: At Your service, O God, at Your service. At Your service, a response from Rabīʿah. Listening to and obeying a Lord who is not worshipped in church or synagogue. The Lord of all: those who establish relations and those who take to estrangement.

Talbiyah of Bakr ibn Wā'il a branch of Rabīʿbah: At Your service, in truth, in truth![At Your service] in devotion and servitude. We come to You for the gifts, we have not come for commerce.

Talbiyah of Yemen: The ʿAkk are heading to You. Your Yemenite bondsmen, that we may do the pilgrimage, our second purpose. Riding fast young she-camels, we come to You to express loyalty, we have not come for commerce.

Talbiyah of Jurhum, the first clan to settle near the Kaʿbah: At Your service, O Dreadful One, we have set out. By God, but for Your sake we would not have gone on pilgrimage to Makkah and the House. Nor raised our voices in supplication, nor given alms, nor offered sacrifices, nor mounted, nor returned, nor taken rest in villages and exclaimed as we rode slender young she-camels in excitation, as they travelled through plains and through rugged terrain. We are the Banū-Qaḥṭān. Wherever we may stand we shall slaughter sacrificial camels at the two Mashāʿir.

Talbiyah of Ḥimyar: At Your service, O God, at Your service. [A response] from kings and princes, possessors of intelligence and clemency; promoters of kinship ties. They do not come near sin, out of righteousness and submission. They have humbled themselves to the generous Lord.

Talbiyah of Azd: O Lord, but for Your sake we would not have done the circuiting between Ṣafā and the two Marwahs for [even] a while. We would not have given alms or prayed, or stay with the Quraysh. The House is God's as long as we live. By God, but for Him we would not have been guided. We shall visit this House in pilgrimage as long as we live.

Talbiyah of Quḍāʿah: At Your service. You drive us so We set out for the house of the Responder, the Worshipped. Indeed God is surely the commendable and praiseworthy. To the God of the House we offer our best.

Talbiyah of Hamdān: At Your service! [A response] together with each group that responds to You. Hamdān, the sons of kings are invoking You. Listen to its plea among the pleas of all kings. Just as it (the clan) performs its ḥajj and obeys You. Perchance it may come to You in truth and meet You. They have left behind idols and frequent You. We are not like those who are ignorant and hostile toward You.

Talbiyah of Midhḥaj: To You [we set out], O Lord of the holy precincts and beyond, and the Black Stone and the Deaf Month (i.e. Rajab); Riding young she-camels like the bows of al-Nash plant. We come to You We bear the afternoon and the dark night traversing hills and acacia trees, and the fright of thunder and lightning like a blaze, as breeding camels convey non-*muḥrim* and the noble.

The joint *talbiyah* of ʿAkk and Midhḥaj: O Makkah, suck up the wicked but do not suck Midhḥaj and ʿAkk, lest the Sacred House be left devastated. We have come to your Lord and we do not doubt.

Talbiyah of Kindah: At Your service, so long as Thābir is fixed and confined, so long as the sea exists beyond Jiddah, so long as rain clouds water the mud. Indeed the tribe which entreats You in truth is Kindah, in Rajab, and we have witnessed the exertion in it. With God do we place its benefit and its gifts.

Talbiyah of Bajilah: At Your service, O God, at Your service. [At Your service], a response from Bajilah, of the rain-bearing cloud, with virtuous intention. How excellent a tribe it is! [It comes] so it will be seen among the groups by the eminent Kaʿbah.

Talbiyah of Khuzāʿah: We inherited the House after ʿĀd and after them we are the pillars. So forgive, for You are the Forgiver and Guide.

Talbiyah of al-Nakhaʿ: At Your service, O Lord of earth and heaven. Creator of creation and He Who causes water to flow. The One crowned with glory and praise.

Talbiyah of al-Ashʿarīs: O God, this is one [act of devotion] if it is accomplished. God has made it complete and it is accomplished. When You forgive, forgive all, for which servant of Yours is free from foibles?

Talbiyah of Anṣār: At Your service, in a true pilgrimage, [At Your service]

in devotion and servitude. We come to You for the gifts, we have not come for commerce.

3. The Quraysh's refusal to stand at ʿArafāt

Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration mentions that the Qurayshites used to take the route of Muzdalifah (that is Jamʿ) and prevent other pilgrims from following this route to ʿArafāt. When the Apostle of God approached ʿArafāt, they hoped that he would take the same way, but God the Exalted sent down the verse: *Then stream out from where the people stream out and plead for God's forgiveness*. *People* in this verse alludes to Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac, peace be upon them, as they, and those who came after them, had taken this route during their times. When the Qurayshites saw the passing of the Apostle's cupola they were somewhat dismayed because they had expected him to take their route. He went on until he reached Namirah (which is the same as Baṭn ʿIrnah, adjacent to al-Arāk) and erected his tent there and the people erected theirs nearby.

Jābir's narration also mentions this matter: The Qurayshites were in no doubt that he would stop over at the Holy Mashʿar (i.e. Muzdalifah) as they used to do in pre-Islamic times. But the Apostle of God (ṣ) passed on until he reached ʿArafāt.

In *Tafsīr al-ʿAyyāshī*, Zayd al-Shaḥḥām is reported to have said: I asked him (i.e. Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq) concerning the words of God: *Then stream out from where the people stream out*… and he said: It refers to the Quraysh who used to say, "We are more entitled to [keeping near] the House than the rest of the people," and they would only set off [to Minā] from Muzdalifah, so God ordered them to start from ʿArafāt.

In another place, *Tafsīr al-ʿAyyāshī* relates from Rifāʿah: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) concerning God's words: *Then stream out from where the people stream out*, and he said: The dwellers near the sanctuary used to stand at the Holy Mashʿar and the rest of the people at ʿArafāt. They would not move from there until those who stood at ʿArafāt begin to appear. There used to be a man called Abū-Sayyār, who had a swift donkey and he would be at the head of the procession as the people moved from ʿArafāt. When he appeared those people (the dwellers near the sanctuary) would say, "That is Abū-Sayyār coming." Then they would depart Mashʿar. So God ordered them to stand at ʿArafāt and stream out from there.

Al-Nuʿmānī mentions in *Risālat al-Muḥkam wa'l-Mutashābih* that Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: The Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa), commented on God's saying: *Then stream out from where the people*

stream out, saying: The Immaculate God refers to the Quraysh of the pre-Islamic era who used to proceed [to Minā] from the Holy Mashʿar and would not go to ʿArafāt like the rest of the Arabs, so God ordered them to set out to Minā from the same place as the Apostle of God (ṣ) and his companions did.

There are numerous other reports similar to this.

In another narration, Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) is reported to have said: The Quraysh used to move out [to Minā] from Jamʿ, while Muḍar and Rabīʿah moved from ʿArafāt.

Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ relates that Abū-ʿAbdullāh al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: Abraham took Ishmael (ʿa) to the standing place (i.e. ʿArafāt) and they moved [to Minā]. Thereafter, the people would begin the procession [to Minā] from there. When the number of the pilgrims grew, the Quraysh said, "We will not proceed from where the people proceed," and they moved from Muzdalifah and prevented the rest of the people from moving [from there] together with them, and insisted that they should set out from ʿArafāt. When God commissioned Muḥammad (ṣ) as Apostle, He instructed him to set out [to Minā] from the same place as the people, and by *the people* he meant Abraham and Ishmael, peace be upon them.

4. Leaving ʿArafāt before sunset

Al-Kulaynī relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Faḍl ibn Shādhān, from Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: The polytheists used to leave ʿArafāt before sunset, but the Apostle of God (ṣ) acted contrary to their practice and left it after sunset.

Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām a similar narration is reported from Muʿāwiyah. The lengthy narration of Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār also says that the Apostle of God (ṣ) stood at ʿArafāt until the sun set, then he left.

In *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, al-Bayhaqī relates that al-Miswar ibn Makhramah has said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) addressed us at ʿArafāt. He praised and commended God and continued: "Polytheists and idol worshippers used to leave this place just before sunset when the sun appeared against the hill tops like turbans on the heads of men; our way differs from theirs…"

5. Leaving Muzdalifah after sunrise

Al-Bayhaqī relates that al-Miswar ibn Makhramah has reported that the Apostle of God (ṣ) said in a speech, "They [i.e. polytheists and idol worshippers] used to leave the Holy Mashʿar at sunrise when the sun appeared against the hill tops like turbans on the heads of men; our way

differs from theirs."

Al-Bayhaqī relates another report that Muʿammar said: Ayyūb said to me, "Let's go together to see Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa) because I have heard that he has instructed the people not to move away from Jamʿ until the sun rises."

So we went with Ayyūb to his (Jaʿfar's) tent and met him conversing with some descendants of ʿAlī (ʿa). When he saw Ayyūb he came out of tent, walked up to him and embraced him, and then he took his hand and led him to another tent. He disliked giving him a seat among them. Then he ordered a tray of dates from which he began to serve Ayyūb with his own hand. Then he said, "Take a tray to those people, for if we send them some they will leave us alone, but if we do not they will revile us."

Ayyūb said to him, "What about the story which I heard you have said?"

He asked, "What have you heard that I have said?"

He said, "I heard that you instructed people not to move from Jamʿ until the sun rises."

He said, "O God! [This is] contrary to the Sunnah of the Apostle of God (ṣ). My father informed me that Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Anṣārī had told him that the Prophet (ṣ) moved from Jamʿ before sunrise, but the people impute to us what we do not say."

In *Musnad*, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal relates that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: The pre-Islamic Arabs did not leave Jamʿ until they had seen the sun shining on Thābir, and they would say, "Thābir has appeared so that we may make assault," so the Apostle of God (ṣ) left before sunrise.

Al-Baghawī relates that Muḥammad ibn Qays ibn Makhramah has said that Apostle of God (ṣ) said in a speech: Arabs of the pre-Islamic era used to leave Muzdalifah after sunrise when the sun appeared against the hill tops like turbans on the heads of men and we leave Muzdalifah before the sun rises; our way differs from the way of the polytheists and idol worshippers.

It has been stated in the Imāmiyyah law that moving out of Muzdalifah should be shortly after sunrise which does not contradict Prophetic tradition. It is stated in *Sharā'iʿ al-Islām* that it is recommended for the pilgrims, apart from the leader (Imam), to leave Muzdalifah just before sunrise, but they may not pass the valley of Muḥassir until after the sun has risen. The Imam delays until the sun rises.

6. Glorification of forebears and boasting on the Days of Tashrīq

During the pre-Islamic age of Ignorance the pilgrimage was a popular event which was attended by whoever had some ancestral cause to preserve and battle feat to boast about in support of their family or clan, therefore, they endeavored to keep that great gathering alive in order to strengthen clannish spirit, at the expense of the spirit of faith and devotion to God the Exalted. The Qur'ān gives a glimpse of that condition where it says: *When you finish your rites, then remember God as you remember your fathers or with a more ardent remembrance*.

Al-Kulaynī relates from Abū-ʿAlī al-Ashʿarī, from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, from Manṣūr ibn Ḥāzim, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said commenting on the words of God: *Remember God on the appointed days*: They are the days of Tashrīq. People used to boast of the feats of their fathers at Minā after slaughtering the offerings. A man would say, "My father was so-and-so." Then God the Mighty and Sublime sent down the verse: *When you finish your rites then remember God as you remember your fathers or with a more ardent remembrance.* The *takbīr* [(glorification of God's greatness) that is to be done] is: God is the greatest, God is the greatest! There is no deity except God. God is the greatest, God is the greatest! Praise be to God for the guidance with which He has guided us. Praise be to God for the livestock He has provided us.

A similar narration occurs in *Daʿā'im al-Islām*, on the authority of Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa).

In Muḥammad ibn Muslim's narration, Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa) is reported to have commented on the Qur'ānic verse: *Then remember God as you remember your fathers or with a more ardent remembrance*, saying: During the pre-Islamic era a man would say, "My father used to do so-and-so, my father used to do so-and-so," so this verse was sent down concerning that [custom].

In another report from Imam al-Bāqir (ʿa) which Muḥammad ibn Muslim relates, the Imam adds: They used to take pride in their fathers and say as they stood at Minā after the slaughtering, "My father who settled the blood monies, who fought so and so," and they used to swear by their fathers: "I swear by my father, I swear by my father."

A similar interpretation is mentioned in *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, in a report in which the Imam (ʿa) said: When they finished the pilgrimage they used to gather there and recount the feats and glorious deeds of their fathers, and also mention their important events of old and their great festivals. Then God

commanded them to glorify His name in that place rather than glorifying their fathers.

7. Refraining from doing ʿumrah in the months of pilgrimage

The pre-Islamic Arabs believed that doing ʿumrah during the months of pilgrimage was among the worst acts of depravity on earth, and the used to regard Muḥarram as Ṣafar. A saying of theirs goes: "When the camels' backs heal, the fur repairs, the month of Ṣafar ends, ʿumrah is allowed," and by *the camels* they mean those camels on which they had travelled for ḥajj, and by *the fur* they refer to the fur of those camels.

Shaykh al-Ṣadūq relates through Fuḍayl ibn ʿAyyāḍ, from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) that he said: The people are [allowed] to continue with their way [with respect to the rites of ḥajj] during the pre-Islamic era except what Islam has changed. They did not believe that ʿumrah could be done in the months of ḥajj so when the Prophet (ṣ) instructed his companions to terminate their initial pilgrimage as ʿumrah [during the Farewell Pilgrimage], they found it difficult to comply because they did not know that ʿumrah could be performed during the months of pilgrimage.

8. The belief that when the pilgrim enters iḥrām he may not enter his house by the door

One of the misguided customs of the Arabs was their belief that the pilgrim who had entered into the state of *iḥrām* (pilgrim-sanctity), i.e. the *muḥrim*, should not enter his house through the door. Alluding to this, the Qur'ān says: *It is not piety that you come into houses from the rear; rather piety is [personified by] one who is God-wary. Come to the houses from their doors.*

Commenting on this verse, al-Ṭabarsī writes:

> *Muḥrim*s did not enter their houses through their doors. Instead they would make holes in the walls at the back of their houses by which they would enter and leave them, so the Qur'ān prohibited that custom. This has been related on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās, Qatādah and ʿAṭā, and Abū'l-Jārūd relates it from Jaʿfar (ʿa). It is also said that the Ḥumsians, i.e. Quraysh, Kinānah, Khuzāʿah, Thaqīf, Jathm and Banū-ʿĀmir ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿah did not follow that custom. In fact they were named al-Ḥums because of their steadfastness in religion (*ḥamāsah* means strictness). Another report says that the Ḥumsians also practiced this custom and they did it so that nothing should act as a barrier between them and the sky.

Concerning this custom, al-Azraqī writes:

> According to their religious tradition, when the Ḥumsians enter into the state of *iḥrām* they would not enter a house or take shelter under the shade of a roof. A man would make a hole in the back of the house and enter, and go out of his apartment through it. He would not enter through the door nor pass between the doorposts or under the beam of the door. When they wanted food or some articles, they would climb over the walls until they appeared from the roofs, then they would climb down and enter their rooms, because they regarded it as unlawful to pass under the lintel of the door. This practice continued until the inception of the Apostle's mission, when he took *iḥrām* for ḥajj in the year of Ḥudaybiyah. When he entered his house in the company of one of the Helpers, the man stopped at the door, so the Prophet (ṣ) said, "Will you not enter?"
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> He replied, "I am an Aḥmasī, O Apostle of God."
>
> The Prophet (ṣ) said, "I am also an Aḥmasī and my religion is the same as yours."
>
> So the Helper entered with the Apostle (ṣ) and God sent down the verse: *It is not piety that you come into houses from the rear; rather piety is [personified by] one who is God-wary. Come to the houses from their doors.*

9. Moving out of 'Arafāt 'spurring the horses and rushing the camels'

Shaykh al-Ṭūsī relates from Mūsā ibn al-Qāsim from Ibrāhīm al-Asadī, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) left ʿArafāt in a way contrary to the practice of the pre-Islamic Arabs; they used to leave ʿArafāt by spurring their horses and rushing their camels, but the Apostle (ṣ) did the opposite as he moved calmly with a dignified bearing.

A similar report is mentioned in *'Ilal al-Sharā'i'*. On this issue, Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār's narration reports Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) as saying: Beware of causing commotion as the people do. The Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "O people, the pilgrimage is not [fulfilled] by spurring of horses and rushing of camels." Therefore, fear God and travel at a moderate pace.

In the same narration, the Prophet (ṣ) is said to have instructed the people to move calmly and he proceeded thus until he arrived at Muzdalifah.

10. The practice of delaying the sacred months

The Almighty says: *Indeed nasī' is an increase in unfaith whereby the faithless are led [further] astray. They allow it in one year and forbid it in another year so as to fit in with the number which God has made inviolable, thus permitting what God has forbidden. Their evil deeds appear to them as decorous and God does not guide the faithless lot.*

In *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, Shaykh al-Ṭabarsī writes:

> The Arabs used to respect the four months, and this was among the precepts of the religion of Abraham (ʿa) and Ishmael (ʿa) which they had preserved. Because they were given to waging wars and strife, perhaps it was too demanding for them to spend three consecutive months without making a raid, therefore, they used to postpone the observance of the sacrosanctity of Muḥarram to the month of Ṣafar, which they would declare sacrosanct after having violated Muḥarram. They would thus continue for some time before restoring the sanctity to Muḥarram. They used to declare this postponement only during the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah.
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> Ibn ʿAbbās says: The meaning of *increase in unbelief* is that they regarded lawful what God had prohibited, and unlawful, that which He had declared lawful.
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> Al-Farrā says: A man from the Banū-Kinānah, Naʿīm ibn Thaʿlabah (who was the leader of the pilgrimage) used to stand up in front of the pilgrims and say: "I am the one who is not reproved, whose purpose is not frustrated and whose decision is not opposed," and the people would say, "Yes, you have said the truth. Delay a month for us, or postpone for us the sacredness of Muḥarram by transferring it to Ṣafar and making Muḥarram permissible." And he would do so. The person, who decided the postponement after the inception of Islam, was Junādah ibn ʿAwf ibn Umayyah al-Kinānī.
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> Ibn ʿAbbās says: The first person to introduce the custom of *nasī'* was ʿAmr ibn Luḥay ibn Qamʿah ibn Khandaf. Abū-Muslim says: He was from the Banū-Kinānah and he was known as al-Qalmās. He use to say, "I have postponed Muḥarram this year so there shall be two Ṣafars, and next year we shall decide and make them two Muḥarrams." Their (i.e. the Banū-Kinānah) poet says: Among us is the postponer of the month, al-Qalmās.
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> Al-Kumayt says: We were those who postponed the non-sacred months, in preparation, by making them sacred.

> Mujāhid says: The polytheists used to do the pilgrimage in one month for two consecutive years: they do it in Dhu'l-Ḥijjah for two years, then in Muḥarram for two years, then in Ṣafar for two years, in that sequence until the pilgrimage of the year which preceded that of the Farewell Pilgrimage corresponded to Dhu'l-Qaʿdah and the Prophet's Farewell Pilgrimage the following year corresponded to Dhu'l-Ḥijjah. This was what he meant by saying in his sermon, "Indeed time has turned full circle [and returned to] the condition similar to what it was on the day God created the heavens and the earth. The year is twelve months, four of which are sacred: three consecutive ones and one lone month: Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and Muḥarram, and Rajab which is between Jumādā and Shaʿbān." He meant to say that the sacred months had returned to their places and the pilgrimage had returned to the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and the postponement had been nullified. The phrase *whereby the faithless are led astray* means that the unbelievers go astray as a result of this postponement. Another reading the of verb *to lead astray* in the passive would mean that they led others astray through the postponement, that is, they postponed the months to make permissible to the people the sacred months in which God had prohibited war and ordained the ḥajj in some of them. They would make it permissible to leave the pilgrimage at the time God made it obligatory and make it obligatory in another time when it was not. In this way they led their followers astray. They *allow it in one year and forbid it in another year* means that they turned a sacred month into a non-sacred one when they wanted to wage war in it, and make the non-sacred sacred, and justify their actions by saying, "a month for a month." When they were not in need of going to war they would not do that. *So as to fit in with the number which God has made inviolable* means that whenever they made a sacred month non-sacred they declared a non-sacred month to be sacred in its place, to maintain the number and that is what is meant by *fitting in*.

Al-Nayshābūrī writes in *Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān wa Raghā'ib al-Furqān*:

> Quṭrab says that originally *nasī'* denotes increase, as [the Arabs] describe a pregnant woman with this word because of the *increase* she undergoes on account of the child she carries, but in refutation of this view, it is said that when a woman is thus described, it is interpreted to mean that there is a delay in her menstruation. Another view says that *nasī'* is the object of the passive form of the verb which means *mansū'* i.e. that which has been postponed. However this usage of the word

nasī' has been questioned on the grounds that, in the Qur'ānic verse, what is postponed is the month and, going by this view, the month would be understood to be an increase in unbelief and obviously this is incorrect usage. But this refutation can be countered by saying that the increase in unbelief is that action which causes the postponement of the sacred month and not the month itself. From this interpretation, al-Jabbā'ī argues that unbelief is amenable to increase as is belief. Unbelief may also refer to that action (on account of which postponement is effected), therefore abstention from it would be an act of belief. Thus, faith is not mere belief and affirmation. Some refute this argument by saying that the increase was that of [degrees toward] completeness [of unbelief], and that action was called unbelief because it ultimately led to recognizing what is forbidden as permissible and vice versa.

There is a famous controversy between the Muʿtazilah and others sects around the phrase: *whereby the faithless are led astray*, on whether *leading astray* is ascribed to God in a metaphoric or literal sense, and we have mentioned this issue many times before.

Concerning the phrase, *they allow it in one year*, the pronoun *it* refers to the postponement. Al-Wāḥidī says: It means that they allow the delay for a year, that being the year in which they wanted to wage war in the sacred month, and forbade the postponement in another year, which was the year they maintained the sanctity of the sacred month.

Exegetes of the Qur'ān write that the Arabs were a warlike people who used to engage in battles and raids, who would hardly endure a three-month interval without hostilities, therefore, should an engagement come up during one of the three consecutive sacred months or in Muḥarram, they would shift the sacredness of that month to another. Al-Wāḥidī, and most other scholars hold that the postponement mostly affected Muḥarram, from which the sacredness was transferred to Ṣafar. He believes that this practice started among the Kinānah clan because they were less endowed, and needed to make raids for their living. Junādah ibn ʿAwf al-Kinānī, a respected member of the clan, used to stand up before the pilgrims and call at the top of his voice: "Your idols have made Muḥarram permissible to you so regard it as such," and in the following year he would say: "Your idols have forbidden Muḥarram for you so consider it sacred." A majority of scholars maintain that the Arabs used to consider four months of the year inviolable, and this is what the Qur'ān alludes to, by saying, *so as*

to fit in with the number which God has made inviolable, that was four months, so that they may not commit a violation, forgetting that they had violated the order of refraining from war, and the obligation to respect the exception made of the four specific months.

Ibn ʿAbbās says: "Whenever they declared a sacred month non-sacred they made another non-sacred one sacred in its place and vice versa so as to maintain the number of sacred months that God the Exalted has mentioned, and this is what is meant by *fitting the number*."

There is another interpretation of this verse, and that is, *nasī'* could mean the practice of intercalation of some lunar months by one month so that it would be consistent with the solar year. This is because a lunar year, that is twelve lunar months, has 354 days and a fifth or a sixth of a day, as is known in astronomy and astronomical almanacs, while the solar year, (which is [sic] the complete revolution of the sun from a point of the celestial orbit and back, by virtue of the special movement of the sun) is a period of 365 and a quarter of a day less a small fraction. Therefore the lunar year is less than the solar one by ten days and twenty-one and a fifth hours approximately, and because of this shortage lunar months shift from season to season so ḥajj may come in winter, summer, spring or autumn.

As a result, the Arabs sometimes considered the situation disadvantageous because sometimes the time of ḥajj was not favorable for the gathering of merchants who used to converge at Makkah from the surrounding places so the means of promoting their businesses and livelihoods was jeopardized. To adjust the situation they resorted to the practice of intercalation so that the pilgrimage would always occur during the temperate season when fruits and crops were harvested, and that was when the sun neared the autumn equinox. To achieve this they intercalated seven lunar months into nineteen lunar years to make nineteen solar years, by adding a month each in the second, fifth, seventh, tenth, thirteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth years, following the Behrehouj system of astronomy. They had learnt it from the Jews and Christians who used to intercalate their calendars to maintain their holidays. Thus the additional month was the intercalated one and it was also called *nasī'* because it was the one that had been postponed, for the additional month had been removed from its actual position.

This interpretation corresponds with what is contained in the Prophet's sermon during the Farewell Pilgrimage, part of which was:

> "Indeed time has turned full circle [and returned to] the condition similar to what it was on the day God created the heavens and the earth. The year is twelve months out of which there are four sacred ones: three consecutive ones Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and Muḥarram, and Rajab of Muḍar which is between Jumādā and Shaʿbān." This means that the months had returned to their true positions in the calendar, the pilgrimage had returned to Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, and the postponement practiced during the pre-Islamic era had been abolished.
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> The Farewell Pilgrimage coincided with the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah in its actual position and the pilgrimage of the previous year, which Abū-Bakr led had taken place in Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, although it was said to be Dhu'l-Ḥijjah. And based on this interpretation of the verse, it was necessary to reprove the polytheists because they had decided that some years had thirteen months, which was contrary to God's decree that the number of months was twelve, no more no less. This is expressed by the words: *That is the upright religion*. In addition, their action was reprehensible on account of shifting the sacred months from their positions, similar to what we have seen in the first interpretation; therefore, it is possible that both readings are alluded to.
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> The meaning of His saying: *They allow it in one year* is that they allow the postponement in the year of the intercalation *and forbid it in another year*, that is other than the year of the intercalation. And God's words: *so as to fit in with the number which God has made inviolable*, refers to someone addressing them during the pilgrimage and saying, "I will postpone a month for you this year and subsequent years until your pilgrimage coincides with the time of the ripening of fruit." Then, he would delay Muḥarram and declare it the intercalated month. When the turn comes for a sacred month which is repeated [i.e. a number of consecutive sacred months] he whimsically forbids one and declares another non-sacred as their interests dictate.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī writes:

> There are two views on *nasīʾ*: The first says that it means deferment. Abū-Zayd says, "Delaying a camel from reaching the pond is called *nasīʾ*." The verbal noun is *nasīʾah* and *nasʾ*. It is said, "God has deferred so-and-so's appointed time of death."
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> Abū-ʿAlī al-Fārisī says: The word *nasīʾ* is a verbal noun like *nadhīr*

(warning) and *nakīr* (disavowal). It can be regarded as *mansū'*, that is the object of a passive verb, but it is not possible to apply this form in this case because if *nasī'* is considered as *mansū'*, the meaning of the verse would be: *the postponed thing is an increase in unbelief*; and it is the month that has been delayed so the month would be unbelief, which is wrong usage. What is meant by *nasī'* is obviously the verbal noun which means causing *nasī'*, which is to defer or to delay. The act of *nasī'* of the months was a postponement of the sacredness of one to another one which did not have that sacredness.

It is reported from Ibn Kathīr through al-Shiblī that *nas'* is the real verbal noun of the word, as the Arabs say, "I have done *nas'*," that is, "I have delayed." Another report from him says, "The letter *yā'* in *nasī'* is not a double letter and perhaps it is another usage of *nas'* with a hamza similar to *arjaytu* and *arja'tu*. It is also related from him that *nasī'* has a double *yā'* without a hamza, and this is based on the single-lettered pattern (*takhfīf qiyāsī*).

The second view is presented by Quṭrab, where he said: *Nasī'* originally denotes addition, as they say: "He has done *nasā'ah* or *ansa'a* of the term," meaning he has increased it. One is said to have done *nasī'* to curdled milk if one allows it to stand long enough for the whey to become considerable. When you urge on a she-camel to make it move faster, you have caused to it to do *nasī'*. Any increase that happens in a thing is a *nasī'*.

Al-Wāḥidī writes: The first view is the correct one, i.e. the original meaning of *nasī'* is to delay. A woman is thus described when she becomes pregnant, because her menstruation has been delayed. You are said to have done *nasī'* to a camel, if you hold back a camel behind others to prevent their mingling, which interferes with orderly movement. One is said to have done *nasī'* to curdled milk, if one allows it to stand long enough for the whey to become considerable.

Based on these two views, the Arabs knew that if they had based their calculations on the lunar year, their pilgrimage would sometimes coincide with summer and sometimes occur in winter and travelling was an onerous task. In addition, they stood to forfeit the profits of commerce because the peoples of other lands would only go to Makkah in favorable seasons of the year. Therefore, they [the Makkans] realized that keeping to the lunar calendar would adversely affect their worldly interests, so they replaced it with the solar year,

but because the solar year is longer than the lunar by a specific period they needed to intercalate. The practice of intercalation brought about two things: firstly, they used to consider some years as having thirteen months as a result of the accumulation of the additions, and secondly, the pilgrimage used to shift from one lunar month to another, such that, it occurred in Dhu'l-Ḥijjah in one year, in Muḥarram in the next, in Ṣafar in the third, etc, until the circle completed at a point in time so that the ḥajj coincided with Dhu'l-Ḥijjah again. Thus the intercalation produced these two outcomes: the addition in the number of the months in a year and the shifting of the sacredness of a particular month to another. From the foregoing, the term *nasī'* is understood by most scholars to denote deferment and by others, to addition or increase, and whichever meaning is accepted, the two outcomes we have mentioned hold true.

In short, basing religious observances on the lunar year adversely affects [their] worldly interests, and basing them on the solar year preserves those interests, but God the Exalted has commanded them, since the time of Abraham (ʿa) and Ishmael (ʿa), to work with the lunar year but they discarded His commands and resorted to the solar year in order to save their mundane interests. This led them to performing the pilgrimage in other than the sacred months and because of this God rebuked them and regarded their action a cause of the increase of faithlessness in them. This was intentional denial of God's injunction and open rebellion to Him, an act which entailed unbelief as unanimously held by all Muslims denominations. This proves that the act of postponement (*nasī'*) surely causes increase in faithlessness. As for the calculations by which the amounts of additions that result from the intercalations are known, they are to be found in the astronomical calendars.

On their part, the exegetes of the Qur'ān mention another reason for the postponement, and that is, the Arabs used to regard the four sacred months inviolable and that it was an established law that dated from the time of Abraham (ʿa) and Ishmael (ʿa). But since the Arabs were a warlike people who often engaged in wars and raids it was difficult for them to spend three consecutive months without an engagement. They said, "If there are three successive months that are sacred we will not get anything and we shall surely die," so they would defer the inviolability of Muḥarram to Ṣafar and consider Muḥarram non-sacred and Ṣafar inviolable.

Al-Wāḥidī says: Majority of scholars hold that the postponement affected all the months, not just one of them, and this is the correct view in our opinion as we discussed elsewhere. And the scholars are agreed that when the Prophet (ṣ) went for the pilgrimage in the year of the Farewell Pilgrimage, the ḥajj had returned to the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah.

The second issue is related to the meaning of God's saying: *increase in unbelief*. He has related many types of unbelief which those people used to perpetrate, so when they added that deed [the postponement] (which we have shown to be a form of unbelief) that addition to the previously-mentioned types was tantamount to increase in unbelief.

God's words, *whereby the faithless are led astray*, the popular reading with *yaḍillu* [with an /a/ vowel after the letter *ya'* and an /i/ vowel after the letter *ḍād*] which means that 'the faithless go astray' is a good reading. The *straying* is predicated on *the faithless* because if they happened to be astray themselves then they would have misled others, because he who misleads someone else must be in error himself. The Kūfic reading *yuḍallu* in the passive means that their influential men had induced them to observe the deferring of the months, therefore the action was mentioned in the passive like the expression: *Their evil deeds appear to them as decorous* [Literally: their evil deeds have been embellished for them], that is, those who induce them to accept that practice had adorned it in their eyes. In Abū-ʿAmr's reading which has been transmitted from Ibn Maqsam, it is *yuḍillu* with a /u/ vowel after the letter ya and /i/ after the letter dad. It has three meanings: firstly, God leads the faithless astray, secondly, Satan leads the faithless astray, and thirdly, (which is the more reasonable) the faithless lead their followers. The third is more reasonable because neither God nor Satan is mentioned as subject in the sentence.

The pronoun in the *whereby the faithless are led [further] astray*, that is, *that by which the faithless are led astray*, *that* which refers to postponement (*nasī'*) and the pronoun it in the expression: *They allow it in one year and forbid it in another*, also refers to the same thing, that is, they allow that postponement in one year and forbid it in another. Al-Wāḥidī says: They allow the delay for a year, and that is the year in which they want to wage war in Muḥarram, and they forbid the postponement in another year, which is the year they maintain the inviolability of Muḥarram.

> But this interpretation is correct only when we consider the postponement to mean that they used to postpone Muḥarram in some years and it would turn into a non-sacred month and vice versa. However this reading will be in order if we take *nasī'* as the object of the passive verb, i.e. *mansū'*, that which is delayed, and that is because the deferred month would then be unbelief, and this usage is not proper. The only way we can regard *nasī'* as *mansū'* is to interpret *Indeed nasī' is an increase in unfaith*, to mean that what is intended is the action by which *nasī'* would be the cause of increase in unfaith, and this ellipsis will render this interpretation acceptable.
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> Concerning the expression, *so as to fit in* (*liyuwāṭi'ū*) *with the number which God has made inviolable*, lexicologists say that *tawāṭu'* is to agree on something. Ibn ʿAbbās says, "Whenever they declared a sacred month non-sacred they made another non-sacred one sacred in its place and vice versa so as to keep the number of the sacred months four, to correspond to what God the Exalted has mentioned, and this is what is meant by *fitting the number*. Since God the Exalted has called that action faithlessness and abominable." He added: *Their evil deeds appear to them as decorous and God does not guide the faithless lot*." Ibn ʿAbbās and Ḥasan say, "He meant that Satan had adorned that deed for them, and God does not guide those steeped in unbelief and sin."

Concerning this issue, Abū-Rayḥān al-Bayrūnī writes:

> In the pre-Islamic period, the Arabs used to consider the difference between their year and the solar year, which is ten days and twenty-one and a fifth hours approximately, by the al-Jalīl mathematical method. So they added a month to it (the lunar year) whenever the number of days reached the days of a month, but they used to consider ten days and twenty hours as the difference. This work was done by the postponers from the Banū-Kinānah clan who were known as al-Qalāmis (sing. Qalāmis means an overflowing sea). They were Abū-Thumāmah Junādah ibn ʿAwf ibn Umayyah ibn Qalʿ ibn ʿAbbād ibn Qalʿ ibn Ḥudhayfah. All these men were postponers. The first man to practice *nasī'* was Ḥudhayfah who was the son of ʿAbd ibn Fuqaym ibn ʿAdī ibn ʿĀmir ibn Thaʿlabah ibn Mālik ibn Kinānah and the last was Abū-Thumāmah. A poet described them thus:
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> *That was Fuqaym who was called al-Qalāmis;*
> *He was their institutor of religion, a chief*

Whose word was respected.

Another says:

A celebrated one from the ancestors of Kinānah,
A revered man, illustrious and noble;
In that position did he spend his time.

Another poet says:
Between the circle of the sun and the moon
He reconciles them to achieve a consistency
That makes the month so complete.

The Arabs learnt this practice from the Jews before the advent of Islam by almost two hundred years although, unlike the Jews, they used to intercalate nine months into every twenty-four lunar years. So their months were fixed in all seasons and unchangeable, neither did delay nor precede their appointed times, until the time the Prophet (ṣ) went on the Farewell Pilgrimage. Then the Prophet (ṣ) addressed the pilgrims and said, "Indeed time has turned full circle [and returned to] the condition similar to what it was on the day God created the heavens and the earth," and recited the verse that prohibited *nasī'*, which was the intercalation. Thereafter, they discarded this practice so their months changed and lost the meanings of their names.

In another place, al-Bayrūnī writes:

Their pilgrimage used to rotate round the four seasons. They desired to have it at the time when their merchandise: hides, skins and agricultural produce were ready, so ḥajj would be fixed in the best seasons with the most abundance. They learnt the intercalation from their neighbors, the Jews, before the Prophet's migration by almost two hundred years. Then they practiced it like the Jews did by joining the difference in days between their year and the solar year until their number amounted to the days of a month. The Qalāmis from the Banū-Kinānah clan were in charge of this work. After the completion of ḥajj they would address the pilgrims, they would declare a month postponed and name the next month with the name of the postponed one and the Arabs would consent to that. They called this practice deferment (*nasī'*) because the Qalāmis used to defer a month at the end of the year for two or three successive years, as the progression demanded. A poet says:
We have a postponer under whose banner you walk;
He declares the months non-sacred or sacred as he wishes.

> The first postponement affected Muḥarram when Ṣafar was called by its name; then Rabīʿ al-Awwal was named Ṣafar to the end. The second deferment was for Ṣafar and the next month was also named Ṣafar, and this continued until all the twelve months were deferred and the postponement returned to Muḥarram from which they restarted another cycle. The Arabs used to count the cycles of *nasīʾ* and note their periods by them. They would say, "The years have completed a circle from such time to such time." If, despite this deferment through the cycles, a month preceded its time in one of the four season of the year because of what accumulated of the excess days of the solar year, they intercalated the year again. They understood that shortage from the positions of the risings and the settings of the moon. This situation persisted until the Prophet (ṣ) emigrated and at that time it was the turn of Shaʿbān in the postponement cycle which I mentioned previously; Shaʿbān was named Muḥarram and Ramaḍān was named Ṣafar. The Prophet (ṣ) waited as *nasīʾ* rotated until the months returned to their real positions. Then he travelled for the Farewell Pilgrimage, where he addressed the people and said in his sermon, "Indeed time has turned full circle [and returned to] the condition similar to what it was on the day God created the heavens and the earth," by which he meant to say that the months had returned to their real positions and the effect of the Arab's interference had come to an end. It was on that account that the Farewell Pilgrimage was also known as the Most Upright Pilgrimage. Intercalation was then prohibited and discarded once and for all.

Ibn Ḥajar writes:

> The pre-Islamic Arabs had postponed some of the sacred months: they would declare a sacred month non-sacred and, in its place, make another inviolable. [They continued this practice] until the specific quality of inviolability that was accorded to the four months was rejected and was arbitrarily imparted on four other unspecified months of the year.
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> Al-Khaṭṭābī says, "They used to alternate the months of the year in terms of sacredness and non-sacredness, giving precedence and delaying for some reasons that included haste to launch war. They would change the inviolability of a sacred month and declare another sacred to replace the first, so there was a change in the nature of the months and their positions in the calendar. With the elapsing of a certain number of years, the time cycle was completed and the original

situation restored. The time the Prophet (ṣ) did his pilgrimage was the end of a cycle."

It may be noted that both the two reasons and explanations that have been given above indicate the changing and shifting of some lunar months and the lack of consistence in their names or their natural sequence. However a question remains to be asked: Were the changes and shifts done to ensure that the ḥajj season coincided with the beginning of autumn so that both commercial and religious activities of the Arabs would take place in the mild autumnal weather, away from intense heat or extreme cold? Or was it done because the three successive sacred months, Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and Muḥarram, posed a barrier to their incessant wars and raids, and because of that they delayed the third month, Muḥarram and called it the First Ṣafar and declared it non-sacred while they sometimes maintained its position and inviolability?

To say that both motives hold good seems unlikely and even strange. The apparent meaning of the expression: *They allow it in one year and forbid it in another year* in the noble verse supports the second explanation because with the intercalation the change will be permanent and they could not restore the sacredness of a month which had earlier been declared non-sacred until after a complete cycle of twenty years, and in this case it could not be said that they had allowed it in one year and forbidden it in another year.

The sacred months and the months of pilgrimage

These two terms have occurred in the Qur'ān where God Most High said: *Indeed the number of months with God is twelve in God's Book, the day He created the heavens and the earth. Of these, four are sacred.*

And: *The ḥajj [season] is in well-known months, so whoever decides on pilgrimage therein [should known that] there is no sexual contact, vicious talk or disputing during ḥajj.*

Are these months successive or not? To begin with, the sacred months are Rajab of Muḍar, Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and Muḥarram, as unanimously held by both Sunnis and Shīʿah. A number of narrations mention them, one of which is that concerning the famous sermon of the Prophet (ṣ) during the Farewell Pilgrimage which we have quoted several times. About the sacredness of the four months he said, "These four months are sacred because the violation of sacred things in them is considered more abominable than in other months. The Arabs used to venerate these months so much so that if a man should meet his father's killer in them he would not so much as disparage the killer. Of the four, three are consecutive and one a

lone month: Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and Muḥarram, and Rajab which is between Jumādā and Shaʿbān."

The months of pilgrimage are Shawwāl, Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, Dhu'l-Ḥijjah (opinion has differed on whether only the first ten days of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah are part of the period of ḥajj or all of it), and this is also an unanimous view held by both Sunni and Shīʿah. What is meant by the months of pilgrimage is that this period is the time for entering into *iḥrām*, otherwise, the whole rites of ḥajj can be performed in only four or five days, from the 9th to the 12th or 13th o Dhu'l-Ḥijjah.

There is some overlapping in the two sets of months. Shawwāl is only part of the months of pilgrimage, Dhu'l-Qaʿdah and the first ten days of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah are part of the months of pilgrimage and also the sacred months, while the last twenty days of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah is only part of the sacred months but whether they are part of the sacred months or not, there is a disagreement. Muḥarram and Rajab are only part of the sacred months.

Removing some wrong impressions in this regard

One: Commerce and seeking material gain are not forbidden during the days of pilgrimage.

During the pre-Islamic era there used to be three fairs around Makkah, starting from the ʿUkāẓ market, which was held near the city on the way to Ṭā'if. It lasted twenty days. Then they would move on to Majannah at the Marr al-Zahrān, which is known today as Wādī Fāṭimah, and spend ten days there. When they sighted the new moon of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah they proceeded to Dhu'l-Majāz near ʿArafāt, which they would leave on the Day of Tarwiyah and move on to ʿArafāt. The Day of Tarwiyah used to be the last of their market days, then they would stand there (ʿArafāt) for ḥajj. Those who wanted to engage in commerce attended the fairs of ʿUkāẓ, Majannah and Dhu'l-Majāz.

This was the situation before the coming of Islam. When on its inception Islam emphasized undivided servitude to God Almighty, some Muslims thought that this upright religion was opposed to their commercial activities during the ḥajj season, so God sent down the following explanation in the passage which talked about the pilgrimage: *There is no sin upon you in seeking your Lord's grace* [during the ḥajj season]; thereby dispelling that impression and giving the permission to engage in commerce. This interpretation of the verse is related from the Imams (ʿa) as Shaykh al-Ṭabarsī reports.

In *Tafsīr al-ʿAyyāshī*, ʿAmr ibn Yazīd Bayyāʿ al-Sābirī is reported to have heard Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) commenting on God's words: *There is no sin upon you in seeking your Lord's grace* [during the ḥajj season], saying: It means provisions. When one terminates his *iḥrām* and completes the rites he can buy and sell in the fairs.

This verse dispels the misconception that buying and selling was prohibited; it was not before or after ḥajj.

Al-Azraqī writes: "Those markets continued after the coming of Islam until the year 129 A.H. in which ʿUkāẓ was abandoned and later Majannah and Dhu'l-Majāz were stopped."

Moreover, the Qur'ān has underscored the benefits that are gained in the pilgrimage, saying: *...coming from distant places, so that they may witness the benefits for them*. These benefits are not limited to other-worldly aspects such as attaining God's forgiveness and pleasure. Although the spiritual and other-worldly benefits associated with the visit to God's House, His sanctuary and the noble standing places are of paramount importance, it does not exclude mundane advantages which are usually obtained in all places where people gather, especially in large numbers. In *al-Kāfī*, it is related that a disciple of Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) asked him [concerning this verse]: "I have heard God's words: *...so that they may witness the benefits for them*. Are they benefits of the world or benefits of the hereafter?" He replied, "Both."

Peace be upon the testamentary legatees (*awṣiyā'*) of the Apostle of God (ṣ), the Imams (ʿa), who explained God's religion according to His intention. They had invited men to the middle path and harmony in all their actions, whether spiritual of mundane, so that neither the world should be their sole preoccupation, nor should they discard it altogether and get engrossed in devotions alone. They say and act according to: *Our Lord, give us good in this world and good in the Hereafter*.

Two: Circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah is a part of the Abrahamic pilgrimage and not the pagan one.

During the pre-Islamic pagan era, the circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah was part of the pilgrimage and on the advent of Islam, the upright religion (*ḥanīf*). Some Muslims thought that that rite was among the wrong innovations of the pre-Islamic period which Islam had abolished, especially that the pagan Arabs had placed their idols on the two hills. This misconception had taken root and was common among the early Muslims so, to dispel it, God sent down the verse: *Indeed Ṣafā and Marwah are among*

God's sacraments, so there is no sin on whoever performs ḥajj or ʿumrah to circuit between them. Should anyone do good of his own accord, God is indeed appreciative, all-knowing.

This taught them that the circuiting was in fact among the sacraments of God and one of the rites of the Abrahamic-Muḥammadan pilgrimage and not that of the pagan Arabs.

It is related in *Tafsīr al-ʿAyyāshī* that Ḥammād ibn ʿUthmān has reported that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: There used to be idols on Ṣafā and Marwah and people (i.e. Muslims) did not know what to do. God sent down this verse so the people would do the circuiting between them while the idols were still in their places. When the Prophet (ṣ) went for ḥajj he [removed them and] threw them away.

Kitāb ʿĀṣim ibn Ḥumayd al-Ḥannāṭ: Muḥammad ibn Muslim has said that he heard Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) saying, after reciting: *Indeed Ṣafā and Marwah are among God's sacraments, there is no sin upon you to circuit between them*; People used to say, "We used to do the circuiting between them during the pre-Islamic period, so when Islam comes, we are not going to circuit between them." Then God the Exalted sent down this verse.

Al-Kāfī and *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*: Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) was asked whether circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah was obligatory or supererogatory, and he replied that it was obligatory.

I said, "Did God not say: *There is no sin upon him to circuit between them*?"

He replied, "This was during ʿumrah of compensation when the Apostle of God (ṣ) had stipulated that they (i.e. the polytheists) should remove the idols from Ṣafā and Marwah. Someone was not able to do the circuiting because of some excuse until the days [for which the idols had been removed] elapsed, and the idols were replaced. The people came to the Prophet (ṣ) and said, 'O Apostle of God, *so-and-so* did not do the circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah and the idols have been returned,' upon which God the Mighty and Sublime sent down: *There is no sin upon him to circuit between them*; that is to say, although the idols are on them."

Akhbār Makkah's account of the pre-Islamic ḥajj, nasī' and the fairs

After presenting the selection of the narrations of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) concerning the features of ḥajj of the pre-Islamic period, we are now going to look at al-Azraqī's account in *Akhbār Makkah* to compare the two versions. Al-Azraqī writes:

My grandfather informed me, from Saʿīd ibn Sālim, from ʿUthmān ibn Sāj,

from Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, from al-Kalbī, from Abū-Ṣalāḥ the client (*mawlā*) of Ummu-Hānī, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said: The Arabs had two religious traditions: those of the Ḥillah and those of the Ḥums. The Ḥums were the Quraysh and all the children of Qurayshite women born to other Arab clans like Kinānah, Khuzāʿah, al-Aws, al-Khazraj, Jashm, Banū-Rabīʿah ibn ʿĀmir ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿah, Azd Shanū'ah, Jadhm, Zābid, Banū-Dhakwān a branch of the Banū-Sālim, ʿAmr al-Lāt, Thaqīf, Ghaṭafān, al-Ghawth, ʿAndān, Allaf and Qaḍāʿah. It was the practice of the Quraysh that when they give out a woman to another Arab in marriage, they lay down a condition that all the children she may bear for him should be regarded Ḥumsian like them. Going by this custom, al-Adrum ibn Ghālib ibn Fihr ibn Mālik ibn al-Naḍr ibn Kinānah sought, for his son Majd, the hand of a daughter of Rabīʿah ibn ʿĀmir ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿah on the condition that Majd's offspring by her would be a Ḥumsian according to Qurayshi norms. It was concerning this marriage that Labīd ibn Rabīʿah ibn Jaʿfar al-Kilābī composed this verse:

"It is said that Manṣūr ibn ʿIkrimah ibn Khafsah ibn Qays ibn ʿAylān married Salmā, daughter of Ḍubayʿah ibn ʿUlay ibn Yaʿsur ibn Saʿd ibn Qays ibn ʿAylān and she bore him Hawāzin. Her son had a serious illness and she took a solemn vow that if Hawāzin is cured she would make him a Ḥumsian, and he was cured so she declared him a Ḥumsian. Ḥumsian women did not weave or spin wool or clarify butter when they take *iḥrām* for the pilgrimage. When the Ḥums took *iḥrām* they would not make cottage cheese, eat butter or clarify it, churn curdled milk, or eat fresh butter. Similarly, they would not wear clothing made of fur or wool and they would not take shelter under a woolen structure as long as they were in a state of *iḥrām*. They would not spin or weave fur or wool; they did not take shelter under leather structures nor eat anything of the plants of the holy precincts. They used to revere the sacred months; they would not break covenants or act unjustly in them. They used to go round the House wearing their clothes. During the pre-Islamic era and even in the beginning of the Islamic era, when a Ḥumsian entered into *iḥrām* he would make a hole in the rear wall of his house and through it he would enter and leave the house, and he would not enter through the door if he was among the sedentary clans.

The Ḥumsians used to say, "Do not venerate any place that is outside the holy precincts (al-Ḥill) and do not pass the borders of the holy precincts during pilgrimage. Let the people not be afraid of your sanctuary or consider what you venerate of the al-Hill as part of the sanctuary." Thus they kept their pilgrimage incomplete, as they refused to go to the standing place of

ʿArafāt as it was outside the area of the holy precincts. They would neither stand at ʿArafāt nor do the rite of moving to Minā from it; they rather stayed at Namirah near Ma'zimayn by the edge of the holy precincts, where they stand on the evening of ʿArafāt, and remain there all day long, in al-Arāk, and from there they move to Muzdalifah. When the sun could be seen on the hilltops as sunset approached, they set off [to Muzdalifah]. They used to say, "We are the inhabitants of the sanctuary, we will not go out of the area of the holy precincts, we are the Ḥums. In fact they were named al-Ḥums because of their steadfastness in religion, and a Ḥumsian in their dialect means one who is strict in religion. According to their religious tradition, when the Ḥumsians entered into the state of *iḥrām* they would not enter a house or take shelter under the shade of a roof. A man would make a hole from the back of the house and enter and go out of his apartment through it. He would not enter through the door nor pass between the doorposts or under the beam of the door. When they wanted food or some articles, they would climb over the walls until they appeared from the roofs, then they would climb down and enter their rooms, because they regarded it as unlawful to pass under the lintel of the door. This practice continued until the inception of the Apostle's mission, when he took *iḥrām* for the ḥajj in the year of Ḥudaybiyah. When he entered his house in the company of one of the Helpers, the man stopped at the door, so the Prophet (ṣ) said, 'Will you not enter?' He replied, 'I am an Aḥmasī, O Apostle of God.' The Prophet said, 'I am also an Aḥmasī and my religion is the same as yours.' So the Helper entered together with the Apostle (ṣ) and God sent down the verse: *It is not piety that you come into houses from the rear; rather piety is [personified by] one who is God-wary. Come to the houses from their doors.* The al-Ḥillah (that is, other than the Ḥumsians) used to circumambulate the House naked, both males and females, in the first circumambulation of their first pilgrimage. The Banū-ʿĀmir ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿah and ʿAkk were among the clans which did the circumambulation that way. When a woman went round the Kaʿbah undressed, she placed one of her hands on her front part and another on her rear and said: 'Today all or some of it will appear; but what appears I do not allow.'

Ibn ʿAbbās says: Some Arab clans like Banū-ʿĀmir used to go round the Kaʿbah naked, the men in the day and the women at night. When a man reached the door of the mosque he would say to a Ḥumsian, "Who will lend a protective garment? Who will lend an indigent?" If a Ḥumsian gave him a garment he would go round the Kaʿbah wearing it, otherwise he would throw his garment at the door of the mosque, enter for the circumambulation and go round the House seven times naked. They used to say, 'We will not

circumambulate wearing the clothes in which we have sinned.' Then he would return to his clothes and find them untouched. Some of their women wore girdles on their loins to cover their private parts. It was a day in which they the ʿĀmirī women said, ʿToday all of it or some of it will appear; but I do not allow what appears.'

Only those among the al-Ḥillah who maintained their dignity circumambulated wearing their clothes and when they finished, it was not permissible to wear those clothes forever after that or use them in any way; they would throw them away as offal (*liqā*). Liqā is the garment worn for the circumambulation and then thrown at the door of the mosque, which no one would touch until it was completely destroyed by sun, rain, wind and the tread of feet. Concerning this Riqqah ibn Nawfal al-Asadī composed, ʿIt makes one sad to sleep on it, as though it were offal lying in front of those circumambulating the sanctuary.'

Al-Kalbī says: The first man among the Muḍar to postpone the months (i.e. practice *nasī'*) was Mālik ibn Kinānah who married Muʿāwiyah ibn Thawr al-Kindī's daughter when he (Mālik) was staying among the Kindah. Before that time, the practice of *nasī'* was done by the Kindah; they were the kings of the Arabs from the lines of Rabīʿah and Muḍar. The Kindah were heirs of princes. Thaʿlabah ibn Mālik held the office of *nasī'* and after him Sarīr ibn al-Qalmās, then that office remained among the offspring of Faqīm of Thaʿlabah's descendants, until the coming of Islam. The last person among them to exercise *nasī'* was Abū-Thumāmah Junādah ibn ʿAwf ibn Umayyah ibn ʿAbd ibn Faqīm. He was the one who came to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb at the corner of the Black Stone and when he saw the people jostling toward it he said, 'O people, I am its neighbor so draw back from it.' But ʿUmar hit him with a whip and said, 'O you uncouth fellow! God has stripped you of your honor by means of Islam.'

All those people did the *nasī'* for the Arabs during the pre-Islamic period; when they wanted to maintain the inviolability of Muḥarram the officer in charge of *nasī'* would stand in the courtyard of the Kaʿbah on the day the pilgrims set out for the return journey and say, 'O people, do not violate the sacredness of your sacred months; venerate your sacraments. I am the one whose wish is acceded to, who is not reproved and with whom no fault is found.' In this way they maintain the sacredness of Muḥarram in that year. The people of the pre-Islamic era used to call Muḥarram the First Ṣafar and Ṣafar itself, the Last Ṣafar, and count the months of the year in this way: two Safars, two Rabīʿ, two Jumādā, Rajab, Shaʿbān, Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, Dhu'l-Qaʿdah and Dhu'l-Ḥijjah. They declared *nasī'* in one year and left it in

another, in order to postpone the sacredness of the sacred months and make inviolable the non-sacred. This was Satan's work with which he inspired them and made it appear good to them.

When it was the turn of the year in which they wished to postpone a sacred month, the man in charge of *nasī'* would stand in the courtyard of the Kaʿbah on the day the pilgrims set out for the homeward journey and say, 'O people, I have postponed the first Ṣafar (that is Muḥarram) for this year,' and they would discard it from the months. They would count the months and rename Ṣafar and Rabīʿ al-Awwal the Two Ṣafars; Rabīʿ al-Ākhar and Jumādā al-Ūlā, the Two Rabīʿ; Jumādā al-Ākhirah and Rajab, the Two Jumādā; Shaʿbān, Rajab; Ramaḍān, Shaʿbān; Shawwāl, Ramaḍān; Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, Shawwāl; Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, Dhu'l-Qaʿdah; and the First Ṣafar (that is the Muḥarram that had been postponed) would be called Dhu'l-Ḥijjah. So they would do ḥajj of that year in Muḥarram and a month will have been lost in that year and that was the postponed month. The following year, the man would address the people in front of the Kaʿbah and say, 'O people, do not violate the sacredness of your sacred months; venerate your sacraments. I am the one whose wish is acceded to, who is not reproved and with whom no fault is found. O God, I have allowed the [spilling of the] blood of the people of al-Ḥillah: Ṭay and Khathm in the sacred months.'

The reason why he declared their blood lawful was that the two clans used to attack the other Arab clans in revenge in the sacred months; they would not respect the sanctity of these months as the others used to do. The other clans from both Ḥums and al-Ḥillah used to refrain from assaulting others in them, even if they should meet the killer of their fathers or brothers, and they would not ask for money, due to their respect for the sacred months.

Thus they would declare Muḥarram sacred in that year and call it the First Ṣafar. Then they would count the months they had counted the previous year so they would do ḥajj twice in each month. Then the following year the one in charge of *nasī'* would postpone the First Ṣafar of the current sequence which is in fact the Last Ṣafar in the sequence of the previous year, which means that they would do ḥajj two consecutive years in Ṣafar. This process would continue for all the months until, in a period of twenty-four years, the pilgrimage would return to Muḥarram, with which they had started the cycle of *nasī'*.'

When God instituted Islam, He sent down the verses: *Indeed nasī' is an increase in unfaith whereby the faithless are led [further] astray. They allow it in one year and forbid it in another year so as to fit in with the number*

which God has made inviolable, thus permitting what God has forbidden; and: *Indeed the number of months with God is twelve in God's Book, the day He created the heavens and the earth. Of these, four are sacred*.

In the year of the Conquest of Makkah that is the eighth year, the Prophet (ṣ) appointed ʿAttāb ibn Usayd ibn Abī'l-ʿAyṣ ibn Umayyah ibn ʿAbd Shams governor of the city and passed on to Ḥunayn and invaded the Hawāzin. After the battle he went to Ṭā'if and from there returned to al-Jaʿrānah where he divided the booty of Ḥunayn and that was in Dhu'l-Qaʿdah. Then he entered Makkah at night as ʿumrah pilgrim, did the circumambulation of the House and circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah the same night, then returned to al-Jaʿrānah where he spent the [remaining part of] the night until morning. He set off for the homeward journey to al-Madīnah from there. From al-Jaʿrānah he descended to the valley of Sarf and joined the road of al-Madīnah from there. The Prophet (ṣ) did not announce ḥajj that year because it coincided with Dhu'l-Qaʿdah and we have no reports which say that he appointed ʿAttāb to lead the pilgrimage that year, that was the eighth year, nor did he instruct him to do anything in that regard. When the time of ḥajj came Muslims and polytheists embarked on the rites, the former moved apart led by ʿAttāb, because he was the mayor of the city. The polytheists who were bound by a covenant with the Muslims and those who were not, kept to another side under the leadership of Abū-Sayyārah al-ʿAdwānī, who rode a one-eyed she-donkey with a halter made of palm fiber.

In the ninth year, ḥajj occurred in Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and the Prophet (ṣ) sent Abū-Bakr to Makkah having appointed him to lead the pilgrimage. He taught him the rites and instructed him to stand at ʿArafāt and Jamʿ. Then Sūrah Barā'ah descended after Abū-Bakr had set out; so, the Prophet (ṣ) sent ʿAlī (ʿa) with it and gave the instructions that after Abū-Bakr had finished his sermon, ʿAlī should stand up and read it to the people and abolish the contract with the polytheists. He said, "Muslims and polytheists may not gather together in this place after this year." During ḥajj, Abū-Bakr was the one who addressed the people and led them in prayer and in the standing places.

In the tenth year, God the Mighty and Sublime permitted his Prophet (ṣ) to perform the pilgrimage, so he did the Farewell Pilgrimage which was the Upright Pilgrimage. He stood at ʿArafāt and said, "O people, indeed time has turned full circle [and returned to] the condition similar to what it was on the day God created the heavens and the earth. [Henceforth] no month will be postponed and no error will occur with regard to the number [of the months]; the pilgrimage shall take place in Dhu'l-Ḥijjah to the Day of Resurrection."

During the pre-Islamic era, the office of leading the movement out from ʿArafāt (*ifāḍah*) was in the hand of Sufah who was called Akhzam ibn al-ʿĀṣ ibn ʿAmr ibn Māzin ibn al-Asad. Akhzam had offered his son for the service of Kaʿbah so the office of leading the movement at the standing place was given to him by Ḥabashiyah ibn Salūl ibn Kaʿb ibn ʿAmr ibn Rabīʿah ibn Ḥārithah ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿĀmir al-Khuzāʿī, who was then in charge of gatekeeping of the Kaʿbah and Makkan affairs. The pilgrims would stand in rows and Ḥabashiyah would say, "I give Sufah the right of way," then Sufah would say, "Pass O people," and they would pass.

Akhzam ibn al-ʿĀṣ ibn ʿAmr ibn Māzin ibn al-Asad married a barren woman from Jurhum tribe so she made a vow to God that if she gave birth to a male child she would offer him as a slave to the Kaʿbah, and he would serve it. After that she gave birth to Ghawth for Akhzam so she kept her promise and offered him to the Kaʿbah. Ghawth took up the service in the beginning together with his maternal uncles from the Jurham, and later he gained the office of allowing *ijāzah* (allowing the people to pass at the standing place) because of the position he held at the Kaʿbah. When Ghawth's mother fulfilled her vow and he started his service for the Kaʿbah, she composed these verses: "I have offered, O Lord, one of his (Akhzam's) sons as a monk at the noble Makkah; so, bless him for me there and make me among the pious of mankind."

After that Ghawth ibn Akhzam took up the office of the *ijāzah* from ʿArafāt and his descendants from the time of Jurhum and Khuzāʿah occupied that position until they all passed away. Then the office of the *ifāḍah* (or *ijāzah*) passed on to ʿUdwān ibn ʿAmr ibn Qays ibn ʿAylān ibn Muḍar, in the era of the Quraysh during the time of Quṣay. It remained among the Banū-ʿUdwān with the family of Zayd ibn ʿUdwān as they inherited it amongst themselves, until it devolved to the man whose tenure saw the advent of Islam, and that was Sayyārah al-ʿUdwānī whose full name was ʿUmayr al-Aʿzal ibn Khālid ibn Saʿīd ibn Ḥārith ibn Zayd ibn ʿUdwān. Another figure from the ʿUdwān clan was the wise man of the Arabs ʿĀmir ibn al-Ẓarb. When the pilgrimage coincides with the month which they called Dhu'l-Ḥijjah the people would go out for their fairs. They used to go to ʿUkāẓ in the morning on the day of the new moon of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, and remain there for twenty nights conducting their commercial activities. The people assembled at the fairground in stations according to their battle feats and banners, each clan would be under the command of its most celebrated men and leaders. The tribes interacted with one another to buy and sell at the centre of the market. At the end of twenty days they would move on to Majannah and stay there

for ten days conducting their markets. When they sight the new moon of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah they proceed to Dhu'l-Majāz and spend eight nights there doing business.

Then they took provisions of water and left Dhu'l-Majāz for ʿArafāt on the Day of Tarwiyah. This day was called the Day of Tarwiyah because of their fetching of water. They would call on one another: 'Take water provisions.' This was necessary because there was no water source in ʿArafāt and Muzdalifah in those days. The Day of Tarwiyah used to be their last day of fairs. Only those tradesmen who wanted to engage in commerce attended the fairs of ʿUkāẓ, Majannah and Dhu'l-Majāz, but those who did want to buy or sell left their homes with their families whenever they wished. The Makkans, who did not intend to engage in the commercial activities, used to leave Makkah on the Day of Tarwiyah taking their provisions of water. On the day of ʿArafāt, the Ḥumsians used to camp at the borders of the holy precincts by Namirah while the al-Ḥillah stayed at ʿArafāt.

In the year the Prophet (ṣ) invited the people to his religion at Makkah before the migration he would not stand together with the Quraysh and the Ḥumsians at the fringes of the holy precincts, rather he stood among the rest of the people at ʿArafāt. Jubayr ibn Muṭʿim ibn ʿAdī ibn Nawfal ibn ʿAbd Manāf says: I lost a camel on the day of ʿArafāt and I went searching for it at ʿArafāt, when I suddenly saw Muḥammad there. I said to myself, 'This man is Ḥumsian, so why does he stand here? I was amazed at his action.' They would not engage in buying and selling on ʿArafāt day and the days of Minā and when God brought Islam, He made that permissible to them, and sent down in His book: *There is no sin upon you in seeking your Lord's grace* [during the ḥajj season]. In his recitation, Ubayy ibn Kaʿb adds, "during the ḥajj season," that is at Minā, ʿArafāt, ʿUkāẓ, Majannah and Dhu'l-Majāz, for these make up the ḥajj season. When they came to ʿArafāt they stayed there on the day of ʿArafāt, the al-Ḥillah would stand at the standing place of ʿArafāt on the evening of that day, while the Ḥumsians stood by the limits of the holy precincts at Namirah. When the people moved out of the ʿArafāt area, the Ḥumsians moved out from the limits of the holy precincts and the al-Ḥillah streamed out from ʿArafāt and the two groups met at Muzdalifah. They used to leave ʿArafāt just before sunset, when the sun appeared against the hill tops like turbans on the heads of men.

They would spend the night in Muzdalifah until the hour just before dawn. The al-Ḥillah and the Ḥumsians stood on Qayẓ (a hill at Muzdalifah) and remained there until the sun rose and appeared against the hill tops like turbans on the heads of men when they would leave Muzdalifah. They said:

‘Thābir has appeared so that we may make assault (i.e. the sun has shone on it so we can leave Muzdalifah).’ Concerning the Ḥumsians, God sent down the command, ‘Then stream out from where the people stream out and plead to God for forgiveness,’ that is, from ʿArafāt, and the people who used to move from there were the Yemenites and the Rabīʿah and Tamīm.

When the Prophet (ṣ) went for ḥajj he addressed the pilgrims at ʿArafāt, saying in his sermon, “Polytheists and idol worshippers used to leave ʿArafāt when the sun appeared against the hill tops like turbans on the heads of men and they used to leave Muzdalifah when the sun rose and appeared against the hill tops like turbans on the heads of men. We are not going to leave ʿArafāt until the sun sets and the fast can be broken, and we shall leave Muzdalifah, God willing, tomorrow before sunrise. Our way differs from the way of polytheists and idol worshippers.”

Al-Kalbī writes: Those markets at ʿUkāẓ, Majannah and Dhu’l-Majāz continued after the coming of Islam until recently. ʿUkāẓ was abandoned in the year 129 A.H. in which the Ḥarūriyyah appeared in Makkah together with Abū-Ḥamzah al-Mukhtār ibn ʿAwf al-Azdī al-ʿIbādī. People were apprehensive of plunder and the civil strife so it was given up. From then on it was never restored. Later on, Majinnah and Dhu’l-Majāz were stopped, and the people managed with the markets of Makkah, Minā and ʿArafāt.

Abū’l-Walīd says: ʿUkāẓ was situated after Qarn al-Manāzil by the distance of a day’s journey on the way to Sanʿā' in the district of Ṭā'if, only a courier’s distance from the city. It was Qays ibn Ghaylān and Thaqīf’s market and it was conducted in a piece of land owned by Naṣr. Majannah was a market at the lower district of Makkah, one courier distance from it. It was Kinānah’s fair and its land was also theirs. It was the one about which Bilāl composed these verses: “O would it be that I spend the night at Fakh with Idhkhār and Jalīl around me; Will I get to the waters of Majannah some day, will Shāmah and Ṭufayl be seen by me?”

Shāmah and Ṭufayl are hills that overlook Majannah.

Dhu’l-Majāz was Hudhayl’s market which was situated to the right of the standing place of ʿArafāt near Kabkab, one parasang away from ʿArafāt. Ḥabashah was Azd’s market which was found in the Diyār al-Awsām in the Barīq valley from the beginning of Qanūnā and valleys Hālah in the Yemen area, at a distance of six nights’ journey from Makkah. It was the last of the markets of the pre-Islamic era to come to ruins. The governor of Makkah used to appoint a man who would lead an army to the market and stay there for three consecutive days, from the beginning of Rajab. This practice

continued until one day the Azd tribe killed its governor who Dāwūd ibn ʿĪsā ibn Mūsā sent there in the year 197 A.H. The jurists of Makkah advised Dāwūd ibn ʿĪsā to demolish it. He did and the market was abandoned to this day. Ḥabashah is not mentioned among those markets because it was not held during the days of ḥajj or its months; it used to be held in Rajab.

They believed that it was among the most heinous sins to do ʿumrah during the months of ḥajj. The Quraysh and other Arab tribes used to say, 'Do not attend the fairs of ʿUkāẓ, Majannah and Dhu'l-Majāz unless you are in a state of *iḥrām* for ḥajj.' They considered the committing of sin or assaulting one another during the sacred months or inside the holy precincts as great abomination. [The fairs] are called al-Fijār because of the debauchery (*fujūr*) and bloodshed that were perpetrated in them, so they found shelter and protection in the sacred months and the holy precincts. They used to say, "When the camels' backs heal, the fur repairs, the month of Ṣafar enters, ʿumrah is allowed," and what they mean here is, "when the backs of the camels on which they had travelled for ḥajj have healed." [This was the situation] when the Apostle of God (ṣ) brought the law of Islam: "'Umrah has entered ḥajj to the Day of Resurrection." The Apostle (ṣ) did all his *ʿumrāt* in Dhu'l-Qaʿdah: ʿumrah of Ḥudaybiyah, ʿumrah of Compensation in the year following the year of Ḥudaybiyah, ʿumrah of al-Jaʿrāniyah, and on the night of the stopover at al-Ḥaṣabah, he sent ʿĀ'ishah to do ʿumrah from al-Tanʿīm accompanied by her brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abū-Bakr.

It was their custom that when a man did some wickedness, such as killing another man, or smacking or beating him, he would tie his neck with a piece of the covering of the Kaʿbah and say, "I am a Ṣarūrah," and the people would say, "Leave Ṣarūrah alone in his ignorance even if he throws his feces into his luggage," so no one would confront him. Then the Apostle said, "There is no Ṣarūrah in Islam, and whoever perpetrates an evil act shall be held responsible for it." ʿAmr ibn Luḥay was Rabīʿah ibn Ḥārithah ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿĀmir al-Khuzāʿī, the man who changed the religion of Abraham (ʿa), was an illustrious chief who commanded respect. He used to feed the needy and pay the indemnities, so whatever he said was accepted religiously.

Under the influence of Satan, ʿAmr used to speak in order to change Islam. He would find it agreeable, so act according to it, and the people of the pre-Islamic era would follow. He was the one who brought Hubal from the land of the island and put it inside the Kaʿbah and seven arrows which they used for divination were placed by it. With each arrow a piece of writing was attached, the contents of which showed the result of their divination. When a man wanted to embark on some affair or travel he would draw two of the

arrows, the words: "My Lord commanded me," written on one and "My Lord forbade me," on the other. Then he would shuffle the two along with a third unmarked arrow [inside a quiver]. Then he would draw. If it happened to be the forbidding one, he abstain, if it was the commanding one, he carried on with what he intended to do, and if it was the unmarked, he repeated the process until a marked arrow appeared. What was written on the seven marked arrows was, *intellect*, *yes*, *no*, *from you*, *from others*, *attached* and *waters*. When they wanted to circumcise a boy or marry an unmarried person or bury the dead, they would take a hundred dirhams and a slaughter camel to Hubal and present them to Ghadīrah ibn Ḥabashiyah ibn Kaʿb ibn ʿAmr al-Khuzāʿī, who was oracle of the divination, and say: "This is a hundred dirhams and a slaughter camel. We wish to do such-and-such, draw for us with regard to so-and-so." If the person was truly as his family had said about him, the arrow of *intellect* or *yes* or *from you* appeared, their minds settled on it. If *no* appeared the arrow was shuffled with that bearing *waters*. If *from you* appeared, the person [for whom Hubal was consulted] was a member of the family, when *from others* appears he was an ally, and when *attached* appeared, he was adopted. This custom of divination remained in practice for a long time.

ʿAmr ibn Luḥay changed *talbiyah* of Prophet Abraham (ʿa). When he was riding his camel and chanting the *talbiyah* during the ḥajj season, Satan appeared to him, in the form of an old man from Najd, riding a reddish camel. He (Satan) moved along with ʿAmr for some time then he chanted *talbiyah*: "At Your service, O Lord, at Your service!" and ʿAmr said the same. Then Satan said, "At Your service, You have no associate," and ʿAmr said the same. Then Satan said, "except an associate that you own," and ʿAmr said, "What is this?" Satan the accursed replied, "What corrects it will follow: except an associate that you own; You own him and he owns naught." ʿAmr in Luḥay said, "I think there is nothing wrong with this." So he did *talbiyah* in this way and the people followed him. [Thereafter], they used to chant *talbiyah* this way: "At Your service O God, at your service; there is no associate for you, except an associate that you own; you own him and he owns naught," until God established Islam and the Apostle of God (ṣ) restored the correct Abrahamic *talbiyah*: "At Your service, O Lord, at Your service! At Your service, You have no associate, at Your service! Surely all praise is for You, and all favors are from You, and the dominion is Yours! You have no associate!" Then the Muslims chanted this *talbiyah* and did not change it henceforth.

THE NUMBER OF THE PROPHET'S PILGRIMAGES

During the ten years the Apostle of God (ṣ) spent in al-Madīnah after the migration, he travelled for ḥajj only once, and that was the pilgrimage in which he bid farewell to the people, and because of that reason it was named the Farewell Pilgrimage. This took place about three months before his demise. It was the only pilgrimage he performed after the migration, a fact that is known to all. We shall discuss his *ʿumrāt* afterwards.

How many times did the Prophet (ṣ) perform ḥajj before he left Makkah, both before and after his appointment as Prophet? Al-Tirmidhī writes: ʿAbdullāh ibn Abī-Ziyād al-Kūfī informed us, from Zayd ibn Hubāb, from Sufyān, from Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh who said that the Apostle of God (ṣ) went on pilgrimage three times: twice before his migration and once after it.

Al-Tirmidhī comments: This is a strange one among the narrations of Sufyān; we do not know it except through Zayd ibn Hubāb. I have seen this narration in ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's books, related from ʿAbdullāh ibn Abī-Ziyād… I asked Muḥammad about this report but he did not know it to be among al-Thawrī's narrations from Jaʿfar, from his father, from Jābir, from the Prophet (ṣ). In addition, al-Thawrī did not count this *ḥadīth* as a well preserved one (*maḥfūẓ*). In fact it is related from him, from Abū-Isḥāq, from Mujāhid in *mursal* fashion.

In another *ḥadīth*, al-Tirmidhī relates: Isḥāq ibn Manṣūr informs us, from Ḥabbān ibn Hilāl, from Hammām, from Qatādah who said: I asked Anas, "How many times did the Prophet (ṣ) perform the pilgrimage?" He replied, "Once." [Al-Tirmidhī remarked]: This is a good and sound *ḥadīth*.

Al-Tirmidhī has expressed reservations on the soundness of the first narration so it may not be approved. The second one, which says that the Prophet (ṣ) did the pilgrimage only once, is sound as he described it, and what is meant here is that the Apostle (ṣ) went on pilgrimage once after his migration, and is silent on his pilgrimages before the migration.

Ibn Mājah relates in his *Sunan*: Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbbād al-Muhallabī informs us from ʿAbdullāh ibn Dāwūd, from Sufyān who said:

The Apostle of God (ṣ) did the pilgrimage three times: two of them before he migrated to al-Madīnah and one after it.

This *ḥadīth* is also mursal because Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah did not meet the Prophet (ṣ), he did not have the honor of being his companion, so it cannot be regarded as having weight.

A similar *ḥadīth* is related by al-Bayhaqī: Abū'l-Ḥusayn ibn Bishrān informed us, from Ismāʿīl al-Ṣaffār, from Saʿdān ibn Naṣr, from Wakīʿ, from Sufyān, from Ibn Jurayj, from Mujāhid who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) did the pilgrimage three times: twice when he was in Makkah before the migration and the Farewell Pilgrimage.

This is the same *ḥadīth* as that of Sufyān except that he mentioned it from Ibn Jurayj, from Mujāhid. This is also marred by *irsāl* because Mujāhid was not a companion of the Prophet (ṣ): he did not see him or witness his actions so he could not have related this *ḥadīth* directly from him, and he did not mention an intermediary. Therefore there is *irsāl* in it, which impairs proof value (*ḥujjiyah*).

We can somehow explain these two narrations, which are in fact a single non-acceptable report. We may assume that the first person to mention it was aware that the Prophet (ṣ) had conferred with the Aws and the Khazraj about Islam at Minā during the days of ḥajj, in the two years prior to the migration, so he thought that the Prophet (ṣ) had performed ḥajj in only those two years, forgetting the pilgrimages which he did prior to that. Based on this, one cannot reject offhand other pilgrimages apart from those two, if there is proof to show that they had taken place.

The foregoing discussion pertains to Sunni reports and we will now look at Shīʿah narrations on this matter. Al-Kulaynī relates in *al-Kāfī*: From a number of our companions, from Sahl ibn Ziyād, from Ibn Najrān, from al-ʿAlā' ibn Razīn, from ʿUmar ibn Yazīd who said: I said to Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa), "Did the Apostle of God (ṣ) make another pilgrimage apart from the Farewell Pilgrimage?" He replied, "Yes, twenty pilgrimages."

In another report, al-Kulaynī writes: From a number of our companions, from Sahl ibn Ziyād, from Ibn Faḍḍāl, from ʿĪsā al-Farrā, from Ibn Abī-Yaʿfūr who said that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) went on pilgrimage twenty times, all of them in concealment. He would pass through Ma'zimayn, dismount and urinate.

Al-Faqīh: The Prophet (ṣ) performed twenty pilgrimages in concealment and in all of them he passed through Ma'zimayn, dismounted and urinated.

Al-Kāfī: From a number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Ghiyāth ibn Ibrāhīm who said that Jaʿfar (ʿa) has said: The Prophet (ṣ) did not go on pilgrimage after his arrival in al-Madīnah except once, but he had performed the pilgrimage several times together with his people when he lived in Makkah.

In another report al-Kulaynī writes: From a number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, from Yūsuf ibn Yaʿqūb, from ʿUmar ibn Yazīd who said Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) has said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) performed twenty pilgrimages.

The last report is the same as the first, although the three narrators in the chain of transmission have differed in the two reports and have related the import rather than the words.

Al-Faqīh: Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Sinānī and ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā al-Daqqāq related from Abū'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā al-Qaṭṭān, from Bakr ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Ḥabīb, from Taym ibn Buhlūl, from his father, from Abū'l-Ḥasan al-ʿAbdī, from Sulaymān ibn Mihrān, who said: I asked Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad, "How many times did the Apostle of God (ṣ) go on pilgrimage?"

"Twenty times in concealment and [each time] he passed by al-Ma'zimayn, dismounted and relieved himself," he replied.

I said, "O son of God's Apostle, why did he dismount and urinate there often?"

He said, "Because it was the first place in which idols were worshipped and the stone that was carved into the idol Hubal was taken from it. [Hubal was the idol] which ʿAlī (ʿa) threw down from the top of the Kaʿbah when he stood on the back of the Apostle of God (ṣ). Later he ordered that it should be buried at the entrance of Bāb Banī-Shaybah and, on that account, entering the Kaʿbah by this door became desirable practice (*sunnah*).

This set of reports indicate that the Apostle made the pilgrimage twenty times before the migration, during his stay in Makkah when the Quraysh authorities held sway, and it was because of this that he used to urinate in concealment at Ma'zimayn, which was the house of idols where Hubal was carved. However, another report of *al-Kāfī* indicates a different view. Al-Kulaynī writes: From a number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, from ʿĪsā al-Farrā, from Ibn Abī-Yaʿfūr, who said that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) has said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) went on pilgrimage ten times in concealment. He would pass through Ma'zimayn,

dismount and urinate.

Shaykh al-Ṭūsī has related a similar report in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Faḍḍāl, from ʿĪsā al-Farrā, from Ibn Abī-Yaʿfūr or from Zurārah (Ḥasan doubts between the two), from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa).

This report is the same as the second report which we quoted above from *al-Kāfī*, and the first narrator who heard it from the Imam (ʿa) is the same person in both, and also the last three narrators are the same people. The difference is that the second report has Sahl ibn Ziyād as its other narrator, while the last report had Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, and the number of times is twenty in one report and ten in the other. It appears that the difference in the number, i.e. ten and twenty was a result of a copying mistake which dropped the last two letters *yā'* and *nun* (of the word twenty in the Arabic script, which then appeared as ten). The fact that the number twenty is the one accepted by scholars supports our assumption.

This shows that Shīʿite narrations indicate that the Prophet (ṣ) actually performed the pilgrimage twenty times before the migration to al-Madīnah, so he had performed twenty-one pilgrimages in all. This also indicates that he made some of these pilgrimages prior to his commissioning as prophet (*biʿthah*), and others after it, so some took place before and some took place after the commissioning. The author of *Mustaṭrafāt al-Sarā'ir* quotes *Jāmiʿ al-Bizanṭī* which relates in *mursal* fashion that Zurārah said: I heard Abū-Jaʿfar and, after him, Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying: The Apostle of God (ṣ) did the pilgrimage twenty times in disguise, ten of them (or seven of them—the narrator was not sure) before announcing prophethood.

There is obvious inconsistency in this narration, not to speak of *irsāl* in its chain of transmission.

The number of the Prophet's ʿumrāt

Having heard that the Prophet (ṣ) went on pilgrimage only once after the emigration to al-Madīnah, the question remains as to how many times he travelled to Makkah for ʿumrah. Shīʿah and Sunnis are agreed that he made three *ʿumrāt* (plural of *ʿumrah*): the ʿumrah of Ḥudaybiyah, the ʿumrah of Compensation and the ʿumrah after the battle of Ḥunayn, when he took his *iḥrām* from al-Jaʿrāniyah. Sunnis hold that he performed another ʿumrah during the Farewell Pilgrimage, while the Shīʿah believe that his ḥajj on that occasion was a *qirān* for which he had driven the offerings along. In the expedition of the conquest of Makkah, the Prophet (ṣ) did not perform ʿumrah, according to both Sunnis and Shīʿah.

Ibn Saʿd relates that Ibn ʿAbbās said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) did four *ʿumrāt*: ʿumrah of Ḥudaybiyah which was the ʿumrah in which he was barred from reaching the Holy Mosque, ʿumrah of Compensation in the year that followed the year of Ḥudaybiyah, ʿumrah of al-Jaʿrāniyah, and the fourth was the one he did together with his pilgrimage.

In another report, Ibn Saʿd relates that Qatādah has said: I asked Anas ibn Mālik about the number of times the Apostle of God (ṣ) did ʿumrah and he replied, "Four times: the ʿumrah in which the polytheists barred him from reaching the House and stopped him at Ḥudaybiyah in the month of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah; the ʿumrah in the subsequent year; the ʿumrah he did after dividing the spoils of Ḥunayn, and for which he set out from al-Jaʿrāniyah in Dhu'l-Qaʿdah; and the ʿumrah he performed together with his pilgrimage."

On the part of Shīʿah narrations, al-Kulaynī relates that Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā has related from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from ʿUthmān ibn ʿĪsā, from Sumāʿah, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) did three *ʿumrāt* in Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, all of which coincided with Dhu'l-Qaʿdah.

Another report from Ḥumayd ibn Ziyād, from Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Sumāʿah, from Jaʿfar ibn Sumāʿah and Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Muḥammad, from ʿAlī ibn Ḥakam, both of them from Abān, from Abī-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa), who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) went for ʿumrah [in the year] of Ḥudaybiyah, compensated for it the following year, and also from al-Jaʿrāniyah when he returned from Ṭā'if, that is, three *ʿumrāt*, all of which took place in Dhu'l-Qaʿdah.

A third report of al-Kulaynī says: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father and from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Faḍl ibn Shādhān, both of them from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) went for three separate *ʿumrāt*: one in Dhu'l-Qaʿdah for which he took *iḥrām* at ʿAsfān, and that was the ʿumrah of Ḥudaybiyah, another ʿumrah for which he took *iḥrām* at al-Juḥafah, and that was the ʿumrah of Compensation, and the ʿumrah for which he took the *iḥrām* in al-Jaʿrāniyah, on his return from Ṭā'if after the battle of Ḥunayn.

Despite these narrations, Shaykh Ṣadūq related from Abū-Aḥmad ibn Jaʿfar al-Bandar, from Abū'l-ʿAbbās al-Ḥammādī, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Shāfiʿī, from his uncle, from Dāwūd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān from ʿAmr, from ʿIkrimah, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said that the Apostle of God (ṣ) did four *ʿumrāt*: ʿumrah of Ḥudaybiyah, the ʿumrah of Compensation in the year that followed the year of Ḥudaybiyah, the third was the ʿumrah of al-

Jaʿrāniyah, and the fourth was the one he did together with his pilgrimage.

It is obvious that this report was taken from Sunni sources and the chain of narrators is a clear testimony to that. We have shown earlier on in this book that the Prophet (ṣ) did not perform ʿumrah during his Farewell Pilgrimage, neither before standing at the venerated stations nor after; he only did ḥajj and took his offerings with him. Therefore, he did not perform a fourth ʿumrah.

1. Umrah of Ḥudaybiyah

The Prophet (ṣ) spent a number of years in al-Madīnah without visiting the Scared House for ḥajj or for ʿumrah. In the sixth year the noble Prophet (ṣ) saw in a vision that he and his companions had entered the Sacred House as pilgrims, a vision which was interpreted as glad tidings for the Prophet (ṣ) and the believers, that they would enter the Sacred Mosque in safety; that they would visit the venerated Kaʿbah in peace. That good news was also a form of command to them to travel to the House of God. God the Exalted demonstrated the veracity of that vision when its message actually happened in the form of ʿumrah of Compensation, a year later. The Qur'ān says: *Certainly God has fulfilled His Apostle's vision in all truth: you will surely enter the Scared Mosque, God willing, in safety, with your heads shaven or hair cropped, without fear.*

The peace treaty of Ḥudaybiyah had a far-reaching influence on what the Muslims later achieved in terms of conquests, and how people embraced Islam in droves. In a number of verses, the Qur'ān alludes to this blessed journey that the Prophet (ṣ) undertook, and it is discussed at length in works of biographies (*sīrah*), military expeditions (*maghāzī*), history and *aḥādīth*. We shall also mention a brief account of this unaccomplished ʿumrah.

Al-Kulaynī relates: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr and others, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) set out for the military expedition of Ḥudaybiyah in Dhu'l-Qaʿdah and when he reached the place for taking *iḥrām* he and his followers took *iḥrām* and armed themselves. When he received information that the polytheists had sent Khālid ibn al-Walīd to block his advance and turn him back, he instructed his followers, "Find me a man who will lead me by another way," and they brought him a man from Muzaynah or Juhaynah. He requested the man's services but the man did not oblige him, so he asked them to look for another person and someone else from either Muzaynah or Juhaynah was brought to him. He mentioned the request and the man accepted and led the way until they

reached al-ʿAqabah [which was a steep mountain track]. There the Prophet (ṣ) said, "He who goes up the track, God will forgive his sins as He forgave the Israelites," and he recited: *And enter prostrating at the gate that We may forgive your inequities.* So, the horsemen of the Helpers, the Aws and the Khazraj vied with one another to ascend it. Their number was one thousand and eight hundred. When they descended to Ḥudaybiyah they saw a woman with her son by a well. On seeing them the son took to his heels but when the woman became sure that it was the Apostle of God (ṣ) travelling, she called out to her son saying, "They are Sabaeans, you need not fear." Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) came to her and asked her to draw a bucket of water. She did so and he took it, drank some water and washed his face. Then she took the remaining water and threw it back into the well, which, thereafter, did not lack water, to this hour.

The Apostle of God (ṣ) moved on. The polytheists dispatched Abān ibn Saʿīd at the head of a detachment of cavalry toward him. Then they sent Ḥulays [perhaps to reconnoiter], but when he saw the large number of sacrificial camels that the travelers had brought along, he returned without meeting the Apostle (ṣ). Ḥulays reported to Abū-Sufyān, "O Abū-Sufyān, by God it is not part of the terms of our alliance to prevent the offerings from reaching their destination."

He said, "Shut up, you are only a Bedouin."

Ḥulays retuned, "By God, you must leave Muḥammad alone to go on with what he wants or I will go alone and join the Aḥābish."

Abū-Sufyān said, "Shut up! Let us extract a pact from Muḥammad which we will not keep."

So, they sent to him ʿUrwah ibn Masʿūd. ʿUrwah who was the man who met the Quraysh to talk about the affair of the people whom Maghīrah ibn Shuʿbah had treacherously murdered. Maghīrah was travelling with them (they were merchants) from Ṭā'if but he killed them on the way. Then he took their possessions to the Apostle of God (ṣ) but he rejected them and said, "This is treachery. We are not going to have anything of it."

The companions of the Prophet (ṣ) said, "O Apostle of God, this is ʿUrwah ibn Masʿūd who has come to you. He is amazed by the number of the sacrificial camels."

He said, "Make them stand on their feet," and they made the camels stand.

ʿUrwah said, "O Muḥammad, what is the purpose of your coming?"

He replied, “I come to circumambulate the House, do the circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah, slaughter these camels and leave their meat for you.”

He said, “By al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā, I have never seen the like of you prevented from accomplishing what you come for. Your people adjure you by God and family ties, that you should not enter their country without their permission, or sever their bonds of kinship, or bring in their enemy against them.”

The Apostle of God (ṣ) said, “I will not do that. [I will respect all] until I enter it (i.e. the Sacred Mosque).”

When ʿUrwah ibn Masʿūd spoke he touched the Apostle’s beard and Maghīrah who was a standing behind him hit his hand.

ʿUrwah said, “Who is this man, O Muḥammad?”

“Your cousin Maghīrah,” the Prophet (ṣ) replied.

ʿUrwah said to Maghīrah, “Traitor! By God, you have not come here for anything except to cover your inequity.”

Then he returned to them (the Quraysh) and said to Abū-Sufyān and his companions, “By God, I have never seen someone like Muḥammad barred from accomplishing what he has come to do,” so they sent Suhayl ibn ʿAmr and Ḥuwayṭib ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā to parley with the Apostle. When they arrived, he asked his followers to let them see the sacrificial camels. They said, “What is the purpose of your coming?”

He replied, “I come to circumambulate the House, do the circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah, slaughter these camels and leave their meat for you.”

Then they said, “Your people adjure you by God and family ties, that you should not enter their country without their permission, or sever their bonds of kinship, or bring in their enemy against them.” But the Apostle of God (ṣ) insisted that he would enter it.

The Apostle (ṣ) intended to send ʿUmar, but he said, “O Apostle of God, my kinsmen are few and you know the condition of my relations with them. I suggest ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān.” So, the Apostle (ṣ) sent a messenger to ʿUthmān and instructed him: “Go to your believers among your people and give them the glad tidings of my Lord’s promise to me that Makkah will be conquered.”

When ʿUthmān went he met Abān ibn Saʿīd and his movement was delayed, so Abān made ʿUthmān ride in front of him until he was able to meet the Muslims and give them the Prophet’s message. Then the skirmish took

place. Suhayl ibn ʿAmr remained with the Prophet (ṣ) while ʿUthmān was in the camp of the polytheists. The Apostle (ṣ) received the oath of allegiance from the Muslims, who accompanied him and placed one of his hands on the other as a token of ʿUthmān's allegiance. Muslims said, "Blessed is ʿUthmān! He has circumambulated the House, circuited between Ṣafā and Marwah and terminated *iḥrām*."

The Apostle (ṣ) said, "He would not."

When ʿUthmān returned, the Apostle asked him if he had circumambulated the House and he replied, "I could not circumambulate the House while the Apostle of God had not done so." Then he told the story.

[When the document was to be written,] the Prophet (ṣ) said to ʿAlī (ʿa), "Write: In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful."

Suhayl retorted, "I do not know what the compassionate, the merciful is, but I think it was the man in al-Yamāmah. Write as we used to write: In thy name, O Allah."

Then he said [to ʿAlī (ʿa)], "Write: This is what the Apostle of God and Suhayl, son of ʿAmr, agreed."

Suyahl said, "Then what are we fighting you about, O Muḥammad?"

He said, "I am the Apostle of God and I am Muḥammad son of ʿAbdullāh."

Then he said, "Write," so he wrote, "This is what Muḥammad son of ʿAbdullāh agreed…"

The terms of the treaty includes the clause, "If anyone from among us (i.e. the Quraysh) comes over to you, you shall return him to us," (and the Apostle of God (ṣ) [agreed to it, although] he was [obviously] not averse to people joining his religion), "and if anyone comes to us from your people we shall not return him to you."

The Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "We do not need to keep them. Let another term be that the Muslims among you can worship God openly."

This affair proved to be very auspicious because Islam overwhelmed the people of Makkah [within a short time].

Then Suhayl hit Abū-Jandal, his son, and said, "This is the first person our treaty applies to."

The Apostle (ṣ) said, "Have you concluded anything yet?"

He said, "O Muḥammad, I am not a treacherous man."

So he took Abū-Jandal with him.

“O Apostle of God, will you turn me over to him?” Abū-Jandal pleaded.

“I have not placed a condition to make an exception of you,” he replied, and then prayed, “O God, bring a way out for Abū-Jandal.”

In another version, al-Kulaynī relates: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr from Ibn Sinān, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: The circumstance of revelation of Sūrah al-Fatḥ and the mentioning of this great victory was that God the Mighty and Sublime had commanded His Apostle (ṣ) in a dream to enter the Sacred Mosque, do the circumambulation and shave his head together with those who shave. So he informed his companions about the vision and instructed them to set out for the journey, and they complied. When they arrived at Dhu’l-Ḥulayfah they entered into *iḥrām* for ʿumrah and drove the sacrificial camels along. The Apostle of God (ṣ) took with him sixty-six camels and did *ish'ār* (i.e. slitting the humps until blood trickled) for them as he took *iḥrām*. Thus they entered into the state of *iḥrām* at Dhu’l-Ḥulayfah and chanted *talbiyah* for ʿumrah, some driving the offerings without coverings, while others drove their own with saddlecloths. When the Quraysh got word about their movement they sent Khālid ibn al-Walīd at the head of two hundred horse men to ambush the Apostle of God (ṣ). He avoided the Prophet (ṣ) as they moved over the hills. When it was time for the noon prayer Bilāl made the call for prayer, and the Apostle of God (ṣ) led the people and they prayed. Khālid said, “If we had attacked them during their prayer we would have hit them because they did not cut their prayers short. But another prayer will soon come, that which is most dear to them. When they start it we will attack them.”

At that point Gabriel (ʿa) descended to the Apostle of God (ṣ) with the command of the prayer of fear in these words: *When you are among them leading them in prayers, let a group of them stand with you carrying their weapons. And when they have done the prostrations let them withdraw to the rear then let the other group which has not prayed come and pray with you, taking their precautions and bearing their weapons. The faithless are eager that you should be oblivious of your weapons and your baggage so that they can assault you all at once*.

On the second day, the Apostle of God (ṣ) camped at Ḥudaybiyah, which was at the edge of the holy precincts (Ḥaram). On his way the Apostle (ṣ) urged the Bedouins to join him but no one responded. They would say, “Do Muḥammad and his companions desire to enter the Ḥaram while the Quraysh will attack and kill them right inside their homes? Surely they will

not return to al-Madīnah forever."

When the Apostle camped at Ḥudaybiyah the Quraysh came out swearing by al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā that they would not allow Muḥammad enter Makkah as long as they were alive. So he sent them an emissary with the message: "I have not come for war; I come to perform the rites, slaughter my offerings and leave their meat for you."

Then they sent him ʿUrwah ibn Masʿūd al-Thaqafī, a sensible and intelligent man, to whom the Quraysh contended that the Qur'ān should have been sent instead of Muḥammad (ṣ), as God says: *And they said: Why was not the Qur'ān sent down to some great man from the two cities?*

When he came face to face with the Apostle (ṣ), he was greatly impressed, so he said, "O Muḥammad, when I set out, your people (the Quraysh) had erected tents and brought with them newly born camels and swore by al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā that they would never allow you entry to their Ḥaram as long as they were alive. Do you then want to destroy your kinsmen and people, O Muḥammad?"

The Apostle of God (ṣ) replied, "I have not come for war; I come to perform the rites, slaughter my offerings and leave their meat for you."

ʿUrwah said, "By God I have never seen a day like this when a man is blocked from what you are blocked from."

Then he returned to the Quraysh and informed them. They said, "By God, if Muḥammad enters Makkah and the Arabs hear it we will certainly be humiliated and they will have the temerity to resist us."

So they dispatched Ḥafṣ ibn al-Aḥnaf and Suhayl ibn ʿAmr to him. When the Apostle (ṣ) saw them he said, "Woe unto the Quraysh! War has enervated them. Won't they leave me alone with the rest of the Arabs? If I am truthful then I will only bring them kingdom and prophethood, and if I am lying then the Arab wolves are enough for them to contend with. Today, anyone among the Quraysh who suggests any plan that is not disapproved by God, I will oblige."

They arrived and said to the Apostle of God (ṣ), "O Muḥammad, we suggest that you go back this year until we see what will become of your issue and that of the rest of the Arabs, because word of your journey has gone round among them, and if you enter our country and sanctuary they will despise us. Next year we shall leave the House for you for three days to do your rites and go."

The Apostle (ṣ) accepted their proposals. They said, “And you shall return our men who go over to you and we shall return your men who come over to us.”

He said, “Whoever comes to you from our men we are not in need of him, but the Muslims in Makkah shall not be molested if they choose to practice their religion openly, they shall not be forced [to do anything against their faith] and they shall not be criticized for what they do in adherence to the laws of Islam.” And they accepted his conditions.

When the Apostle of God (ṣ) accepted these proposals the majority of his companions showed their disproval and ʿUmar was the most severe in criticizing his stand. He said, “O Apostle of God, are we not in the right and our enemy in falsehood?”

“Yes,” the Apostle (ṣ) replied.

“Shall we then accept disgrace in regard to our religion?” ʿUmar insisted.

“Certainly God had promised me and He will not break His promise,” the Apostle (ṣ) explained.

ʿUmar said, “If I had forty men to support me I would have opposed him.”

Suhayl and Ḥafṣ then returned to the Quraysh and informed them of the peace treaty that had been concluded. ʿUmar said, “O Apostle of God, did you not say that we will enter the Scared Mosque and shave our heads among those who shave?”

The Apostle retorted, “Did I promise you this year? I told you that God the Mighty and Sublime has promised me that I will conquer Makkah, circumambulate the House, do the circuiting [between Ṣafā and Marwah], and shave among those who shave.”

When they bothered him, he said, “If you do not accept the peace, go and fight them.”

So they proceeded towards the camp of the Quraysh, who being ready for encounter, charged on them and that [group of] companions [who pressed for war] were utterly routed. When they passed by the Apostle (ṣ) he smiled, and then said, “O ʿAlī, take a sword and face the Quraysh fighters.”

The Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) took his sword and charged at them but when they saw him, they retreated and said, “O ʿAlī, has Muḥammad changed his mind concerning the agreement?”

“No,” he replied.

Thus those companions who were insisting on a fight returned in shame and apologized to the Apostle of God (ṣ).

The Apostle (ṣ) said to them, "Were you not in my company on the day of Badr when, concerning you, it was revealed: *When you appealed to your Lord for help he answered you: I will aid you with a thousand angels in a file*? Were you not in my company on the day of Uḥud when you were fleeing without paying attention to anyone while the Apostle was calling you from your rear? Were you not in my company on such and such day? [He mentioned other occasions on which they behaved in a similar way.]"

Then they apologized to him and were repentant on account of their actions. They said, "God and His Apostle know best. Do as you deem fit."

Ḥafṣ ibn al-Aḥnaf and Suhayl ibn ʿAmr came back to the Apostle of God (ṣ) and said that the Quraysh have accepted your conditions of practicing Islam openly and that no one shall be coerced because of their religion.

Then the Apostle (ṣ) asked for writing material and called the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) and said to him, "Write;" and he wrote: "In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful."

But Suhayl objected, "We do not know the Compassionate. Write as your fathers used to write: In thy name, O Allah."

The Apostle (ṣ) said, "Write: In thy name O Allah, for it is one of the names of God."

Then he wrote further: "This is an agreement between Muḥammad, the Apostle of God, and the elders of Quraysh," but Suhayl said, "If we had known that you are the Apostle of God we would not have fought you. Write: This is an agreement between Muḥammad, son of ʿAbdullāh, or are you disdainful of your descent, O Muḥammad?"

The Apostle (ṣ) said, "I am the Apostle of God even if you do not acknowledge it. O ʿAlī, wipe it out and write Muḥammad, son of ʿAbdullāh."

But the Commander of the Faithful replied, "I will never wipe out your appellation of prophethood."

So the Apostle (ṣ) wiped it with his hand and wrote: "This is the protocol concluded between Muḥammad, son of ʿAbdullāh and the elders of Quraysh [through the mediation of] Suhayl ibn ʿAmr, that they have made peace and eschewed hostilities for a period of ten years; that we shall avoid assaulting one another; that there shall be no treachery and no robbery; that we shall

put a lid an all aggression; that whoever wishes to come under Muḥammad's pact and contract may do so, and whoever wishes to come under the Quraysh's pact and contract may do so; that whoever comes over to Muḥammad without the consent of his guardian shall be returned to him, but anyone of the companions of Muḥammad who comes over to the Quraysh may not be returned to him; that Muḥammad and his companions shall turn back [without entering Makkah] this year and come back next year and enter Makkah, stay for three days but he shall not enter it with weapons, except the arms borne by the traveler: swords in their scabbards."

ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) wrote down this agreement and the Migrants and Helpers were witnesses.

The Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "O ʿAlī, you refused to wipe out my appellation of prophethood, I swear by Him Who has sent me forth with the truth, you will certainly answer their descendants in a similar way at a time when you will be oppressed and grief-stricken."

When people approved of the mediation of the two arbitrators, he instructed that it should be written: This is the peace agreement the Commander of the Faithful concluded with Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī-Sufyān, but ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said, "If we had known that you are the Commander of the Faithful we would not have fought you. Instead, write: This is the peace agreement ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib concluded with Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī-Sufyān…"

Then the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) said, "God has said the truth and His Apostle (ṣ) has said the truth. The Apostle of God (ṣ) informed me about this." Then the document was written.

When the treaty was written, the Khuzāʿah clan said, "We are under Muḥammad's pact and contract," and Banū-Bakr said, "We are under the Quraysh's pact and contract." Then two copies of the documents were made; a copy remained with the Apostle of God (ṣ) and the other with Suhayl ibn ʿAmr. Suhayl and Ḥafṣ returned to the Quraysh and informed them. The Apostle of God (ṣ) said to his companions, "Slaughter your offerings and shave your heads," but they refused and said, "How can we slaughter and shave while we have not circumambulated the House and we have not circuited between Ṣafā and Marwah?"

This saddened the Apostle of God and he told Ummu-Salamah (his wife), who said, "O Apostle of God, go ahead and slaughter your offerings and shave."

He did so, and the people followed suit despite their lack of certainty and the

serious doubts they harbored. To emphasize the importance of the sacrifices, the Apostle (ṣ) said, "May God shower graces on those who shave!"

Shaving was not obligatory for those who took the offerings along. Some of those who did not come with them said, "O Apostle of God, [pray for] those who clip also."

He said again, "May God shower graces on those who did not come with sacrifices but have shaven!"

They repeated, "O Apostle of God, [pray for] those who clip also," and he said, "May God shower graces on those who clip."

Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) set out toward al-Madīnah, and when he reached al-Tanʿīm, he stopped under the tree. Then his companions who had protested with regard to the peace treaty came to him apologizing and repenting for what they had done, and requested him to seek God's forgiveness for them. Then the Verse of Approval was sent down, saying: *God was certainly pleased with the faithful when they swore allegiance to you under the tree. He knew what was in their hearts, so He sent down composure on them and requited them with a victory near at hand.*

Writing about the ʿumrah of Ḥudaybiyah in *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*, Ibn Hishām says: The Prophet (ṣ) set out [for Makkah] for ʿumrah in Dhu'l-Qaʿdah with no intention to wage war. The Migrants and the Helpers set out with him and some Arabs joined him on the way. He took with him seventy sacrificial camels. Jābir ibn ʿAbdullāh said: We were the people who attended [the ʿumrah of] Ḥudaybiyah, fourteen hundred in number. When the Apostle of God (ṣ) reached ʿAsfān he was told, "O Apostle of God, the Quraysh have heard about your journey so they have come out and brought with them newly born camels, they are wearing the leopard skins. They have camped at Dhū-Ṭuwā and pledging to God that they will never allow you to enter [their sanctuary] and they have sent Khālid ibn al-Walīd to Kurāʿ al-Ghamīm at the head of their cavalry."

The Apostle of God said, "Woe unto the Quraysh! War has enervated them. Would it matter if they had left me alone with the rest of the Arabs? If they kill me, that would fulfill their purpose and if God grants me victory over them, they will embrace Islam in large numbers. If they do not embrace Islam they will fight as they are strong. What do the Quraysh think? By God I will continue striving [to establish] that which God has sent me with until God crowns it with success or I meet my death."

Then he asked, "Who will lead us by a route other than the one they have

taken?"

A man from the Banū-Aslam said, "I will, O Apostle of God."

Then he led them through a difficult rocky path between gorges, an exercise that gave the people much trouble. When they traversed it and arrived at a plain at the end of the valley the Apostle of God (ṣ) instructed people, "Say: We seek God's forgiveness and return to Him in repentance."

Then he said, "Take the route on the right, between the al-Ḥamd, the way which leads to the maintain trail of al-Mirār, where the descent to al-Ḥudaybiyah starts towards the lower district of the Makkah area," and the army took that route. When the detachment of the Quraysh cavalry saw that the [Prophet's] army had changed route as the dust it raised indicated, they galloped back to their camp. The Apostle of God (ṣ) went on until he entered the trail of al-Mirār, where his camel knelt down. [On seeing this] the people said, "The camel is unyielding," but he said, "It is not unyielding, nor is that its behavior. It has been restrained by the One who restrained the elephants from reaching Makkah. Today, whatever suggestion the Quraysh present to me with regard to respecting the bonds of kinship, I will oblige them."

Then he said to people, "Stop [here]," but they said, "O Apostle of God, there is no source of water at which we may camp in this valley."

The Apostle (ṣ) took an arrow from his quiver, gave it to one of his companions and asked him to go down one of the waterholes around and plant the arrow inside it. The man did as he was instructed, and fresh water gushed out [in such quantities] that the people turned the place into a watering place for animals. When the Apostle of God (ṣ) settled down to rest Badīl ibn Warqā' al-Khuzāʿī came with a group of men of the Khuzāʿah clan and asked him his purpose of coming. He informed them that he did not come for war; he had come as a pilgrim to the House in veneration of its sanctity. Then he told them what he told Bishr ibn Sufyān, so they returned to the Quraysh and said, "O Quraysh, you are being hasty with regard to Muḥammad's affair. Muḥammad did not come for war but for pilgrimage to this House."

But they confronted them with accusations and said, "Even if he has come not intending war, by God, we shall never allow him to enter it [Makkah] by force; we should never be ridiculed by the Arabs on that account."

Then they sent Mukarriz ibn Ḥafṣ ibn Aḥnaf of the Banū-ʿĀmir ibn Lu'ay clan. When the Apostle of God (ṣ) saw him approaching, he said, "This is a traitor."

When he reached the Apostle (ṣ) and spoke to him, he told him what he had said to Badīl and his companions, so he went back to the Quraysh and informed them what the Apostle (ṣ) had said. Then they sent to him al-Ḥulays ibn ʿAlqamah (or ibn Ẓabbān), who was then the chief of the al-Aḥābish. When the Apostle (ṣ) saw him he said, "This man is from a people who practice devotion," so they roused the sacrificial camels so that he may see them. When he saw them moving all over the valley with tokens [that hung at their necks to signify their status as offerings], he returned to the Quraysh without even reaching where the Apostle (ṣ) was, because of his great admiration for what he had seen. He told them what he had seen, but they said to him, "Sit down. You are only a Bedouin, you do not know anything."

This angered Badīl; so, he said, "O Quraysh, by God this is not part of the terms of our alliance with you or the pact we have concluded. Will a man who comes to the House of God in reverence to it be prevented from reaching it? By Him, in whose hand is my life, you must allow Muḥammad do what he comes for or I will mobilize the al-Aḥābish in a united force [against you]."

They said to him, "Keep your peace. Leave us alone, O Ḥulays. Let us extract [from him] what will satisfy us."

Then they sent ʿUrwah ibn Masʿūd al-Thaqafī to the Apostle of God (ṣ). He went to the Apostle and sat in front of him. The Apostle (ṣ) spoke to him as he spoke to his (ʿUrwah's) companions before, telling him that he did not come for war. He left the Apostle of God (ṣ) and went back to the Quraysh after he had seen how his companions behaved towards him. He said, "By God, I have never seen a king respected the way Muḥammad's companions defer to him. I have seen a people who would never betray him for anything."

The Apostle of God called Khirāsh ibn Umayyah al-Khuzāʿī and sent him to the Quraysh in Makkah to inform their nobles of the purpose of his journey, but they stunned the Prophet's camel, which he was riding, and attempted to kill him. However, the Aḥābish came to his aid forcing his attackers to leave him alone. During the days the dialogue between the Prophet (ṣ) and the leaders of Quraysh lasted, the latter had dispatched forty or fifty men to surprise the Apostle's camp and try to take a captive from his companions, but they were caught and brought before the Apostle of God (ṣ). However, he pardoned them and let them go, although they had thrown stones and shot arrows at the camp.

Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) sent ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān to Abū-Sufyān and the rest of the Quraysh chiefs to tell them that he had come, not for war, but to visit the House. ʿUthmān went to Makkah but the Quraysh detained him, and the Apostle (ṣ) and his followers even heard that ʿUthmān had been killed, so he summoned the people to swear allegiance, thus the Allegiance of Approval under the Tree. Then the Quraysh sent Suhayl ibn ʿAmr to the Apostle of God (ṣ) saying, "Go to Muḥammad and make peace with him with the condition that he must go back this year [without entering Makkah], for by God, the Arabs shall never ridicule us and say that he had entered it by force."

When Suhayl ibn ʿAmr met the Apostle (ṣ), he spoke for a long time and they engaged in negotiations that ended in a peace agreement between the Muslims and the Quraysh. When the companions of the Apostle of God (ṣ) set out from al-Madīnah they did not have any doubt that Makkah would be conquered that year, because of the dream the Apostle (ṣ) had seen previously. When they witnessed the peace treaty, the necessity to go back, and what the Apostle (ṣ) had to endure, it caused a terrible thought to enter their hearts, which almost ruined them.

When the Apostle of God (ṣ) concluded the treaty he slaughtered his sacrifices and then shaved his head. When the people saw what the Apostle (ṣ) had done they quickly slaughtered their sacrificial camels and shaved. The Apostle (ṣ) said, "May God shower graces on those who shave!" So, the people pleaded, "And on those who clip, O Apostle of God!"

He said again, "May God shower graces on those who shave!" And they reiterated, "And on those who clip, O Apostle of God!" Then he said, "And on those who clip."

Elsewhere, Ibn Hishām writes: Some people who accompanied the Apostle (ṣ) said to him when they returned to al-Madīnah, "O Apostle of God, did you not say that you will enter Makkah in safety?"

"Yes," he replied. "But did I say this year?"

"No," they replied.

Then he added, "It happened as Gabriel had told me."

On some of the events of Ḥudaybiyah, al-Kulaynī relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ḥammād ibn ʿĪsā and Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār who said that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) has commented on God's words: *God will surely test you with some of the game within the reach of your hands and spears*. He said: During the ʿumrah of Ḥudaybiyah

wild animals were gathered for the Apostle of God (ṣ) until they came within reach of the hands and spears of his companions.

Shaykh Ṭūsī relates that Mūsā ibn Qāsim, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Ḥammād, from Ḥurayz, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) said twice on the day of Ḥudaybiyah, "O God, forgive those who shave!"

They said, "And those who clip, O Apostle of God!"

He said, "And those who clip."

Al-Kulaynī writes that Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) was blocked at Ḥudaybiyah he clipped his hair, terminated his *iḥrām* and slaughtered his offerings, and then set out [to return].

Al-Ṣadūq relates that Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: When the polytheists blocked the Apostle of God (ṣ) at Ḥudaybiyah, he slaughtered his offerings, terminated his *iḥrām* and returned to al-Madīnah.

2. ʿUmrah of compensation

A summary of what al-Wāqidī wrote about the ʿumrah of compensation runs thus: When the month of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah of the seventh year began, the Apostle of God (ṣ) instructed the people to prepare for ʿumrah, and that none of those who had attended al-Ḥudaybiyah should fail to travel with him, and that no one else should join him. Ibn ʿAbbās said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) set out in Dhu'l-Qaʿdah of the seventh year, the same month the polytheist had prevented [him from entering Makkah the previous year] because of God's words, "A sacred month for a sacred month." Some Arab residents of al-Madīnah said, "By God, we have no provisions and there is no one to feed us, O Apostle of God." So, the Apostle (ṣ) ordered the people to spend for the sake of God and give charity. He took with him sixty sacrificial camels. He also prepared weapons, helmets, amour and spears and drove a hundred horses.

People said to him, "O Apostle of God, you have taken arms, but they have stipulated that we shall not enter with arms except the arms that a traveler usually carries: swords in their scabbards."

He replied, "We will not enter the sanctuary with the arms but we will keep them within our reach, so that should anyone provoke us we will have arms at our disposal."

The Apostle of God (ṣ) and his followers moved on chanting *talbiyah*. Muḥammad ibn Muslimah drove the horses in advance to Marr al-Zahrān,

where he found some men of the Quraysh. They asked him what the matter was, and he said it was the Apostle of God (ṣ) travelling, and that he would reach that place the following morning. The men saw the large amount of arms, so they hastened back to the Quraysh and informed them about the horses and arms they had seen. The Quraysh became alarmed and said, "We have not changed anything [of the truce] and are abiding by our document and the stipulated period so why is Muḥammad raiding us supported by his companions?"

Then they dispatched Mukarriz Ḥafṣ ibn al-Aḥnaf at the head of a group of men who met him at the valley of Ya'jūj. They said, "O Muḥammad, you have not been known for treachery as a youth or as a man. Will you enter the sanctuary with arms against your people even though you have put the condition that you will not enter with weapons except the weapons of a traveler, that is, swords in their scabbards?"

The Apostle said, "We will only enter it that way (i.e. as we agreed)."

Mukarriz returned to Makkah fast and said, "Muḥammad will not enter with arms."

So, the Quraysh went out of Makkah to the hills. The Apostle of God (ṣ) instructed that the offerings should be driven in front of him and they were driven along and kept at Dhū-Ṭuwā. Then he entered Makkah, riding his she-camel al-Quṣwā', with his companions surrounding him.

Shaykh Ṭabarsī writes: The issue took place during the ʿumrah of compensation, in the year after that of Ḥudaybiyah, that is the seventh year after the Hegira, in Dhu'l-Qaʿdah, the month in which the polytheists had barred him from entering the Sacred Mosque. The Prophet (ṣ) made the journey and entered Makkah together with his companions for ʿumrah. They spent three days in Makkah and returned to al-Madīnah. Al-Zuhrī relates that the Apostle of God (ṣ) sent Jaʿfar ibn Abī-Ṭālib to precede him [to Makkah] and seek for him the hand of Maymūnah bint al-Ḥārith of the Banū-ʿĀmir clan. He introduced the subject to her and entrusted her affair to al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who was the husband of her sister Ummu'l-Faḍl bint al-Ḥārith, so ʿAbbās married her to the Apostle of God (ṣ). When he arrived at the House he instructed his companions, "Bare your shoulders and circumambulate with energy, so that the polytheists will see you strong and sturdy."

Then the Makkans: men, women and children surrounded them and looked on as the Apostle (ṣ) and his companions moved round the House. ʿAbdullāh

ibn Rawāḥah walked in front of the Apostle (ṣ), wearing a sword belt with a sword and reciting these verses pointing to him:

Give way to him, O descendants of heathens, the all-Merciful has sent down in His Revelation;
In scrolls that are recited to His Apostle, today we shall strike at you concerning its interpretation;
As we struck you concerning its revelation, such a striking that would deprive the head of its sleep;
And the beloved would forget his beloved. O Lord! I believe in his speech, and in what he approves, I know what is due to God.

Wasā'il al-Shī'ah: Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā relates from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) entered Makkah for the ʿumrah of Compensation while her inhabitants were still polytheists. They had heard that the companions of Muḥammad were fatigued, so the Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "May God have mercy on him who exhibits sturdiness," and ordered them to expose their upper arms and move fast round the Kaʿbah thrice. The Apostle (ṣ) himself was mounted on his camel with ʿAbdullāh ibn Rawāḥah holding its halter while the polytheists looked on from the position of the spout.

Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṣadūq relates that Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa) said: When the Apostle of God (ṣ) went to Makkah, while the treaty between him and the polytheists, about which you know, was still in force, he ordered the pilgrims to appear sturdy and bare their upper arms. Then he also bared his upper arms and made three circumambulations at a jogging pace to show the polytheists that the Muslims had not been exhausted.

Al-Ṣadūq relates a similar narration in which he says that Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: The Apostle of God passed by a group of his companions who were sitting in the courtyard of the Kaʿbah and said, "There are your people (i.e. the Makkans) on the top of the hills watching; they should not see any weakness in you." So they rose, tightened up their loin-clothes, stood akimbo and then moved fast round the Kaʿbah.

Al-Kulaynī relates: From a number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥakīm, from Muḥammad ibn Abī-ʿUmayr from Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Ṣayrafī, from a number of our companions, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: During the ʿumrah of compensation, the Prophet laid the condition that they (i.e. the polytheists) should remove the idols from Ṣafā and Marwah. Someone was not able to do the circuiting because of some excuse, until the days [for which the idols had been

removed] elapsed, and the idols were replaced. People came to the Prophet (ṣ) and said, "O Apostle of God, *so-and-so* did not do the circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah and the idols have been returned," upon which God the Mighty and Sublime sent down: *There is no sin upon him to circuit between them*; that is to say, although the idols are on them.

This ʿumrah was called ʿumrah of compensation because it was the ʿumrah that the Prophet and his followers performed after the intended ʿumrah which turned into the occasion for concluding the Truce of Ḥudaybiyah, which, in fact, prepared the grounds for the present ʿumrah. It was not actually compensation (*qaḍāʾ*) according to Islamic law parlance, i.e. making up for a particular religious duty that has been missed in its stipulated time; rather, it was a compensation in the customary sense. This is because the Prophet and his company were blocked at Ḥudaybiyah and prevented from doing ʿumrah, so they terminated their state of *iḥrām* there and it was not mandatory for them to perform another ʿumrah afterwards on account of the premature termination. In the ʿumrah of compensation, they did a new thing entirely, not *compensation* for what had been missed. Concerning this matter, al-Kulaynī writes: From Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī-Naṣr who said: I asked Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa) whether the Prophet (ṣ) compensated for his ʿumrah [which he could not accomplish] when the polytheists blocked him. He answered, "No, but he went on another ʿumrah after that."

A summary of what Ibn Hishām recorded about this ʿumrah is as follows: The Apostle of God (ṣ) set out for ʿumrah in the month of Dhu'l-Qaʿdah in the seventh year, an ʿumrah which was in place of the one he had been barred from performing. Muslims who had been with him the previous year accompanied him. When the Quraysh heard about his journey they went out of the city. They spread the rumors that Muḥammad and his companions were living in straitened circumstances, and thereby enervated they made their people line up at Dār al-Nidwah (the assembly hall) to watch the Apostle and his companions [as they performed their rites]. ʿAbdullāh ibn Rawāḥah held the halter of his camel and said,

Give way to him, O descendants of heathens, give way, for all good resides in His Apostle;
O Lord! I believe in his speech, and in what he approves I know what is due to God.

When the Apostle of God (ṣ) entered the Scared Mosque he tied his cloak in a way that covered the left shoulder and left the right one bare, passing one end of the cloak under his right armpit, and with his right upper arm

exposed, he said to his companions, "May God have mercy on he who shows them his sturdiness."

Then he touched the Corner and proceeded in a fast pace and his companions followed suit. He thus went round the House until it covered him from their (the polytheists') view. Then he touched the Yemeni Corner and walked on and touched the Corner of the Black Stone. He did three rounds in this way and walked [at a normal pace] for the rest. Ibn ʿAbbās says that the Apostle of God (ṣ) married Maymūnah bint al-Ḥārith during this journey.

The Prophet (ṣ) and his followers stayed for three days in Makkah. On the third day Ḥuwayṭib ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā came to him with some men and said "Your period has ended, so leave."

The Prophet (ṣ) said, "Will it matter if you allow me some time to prepare some food so that you may have a feast?"

They replied, "We do not need your food, just leave us."

So, the Apostle (ṣ) left for al-Madīnah in the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, and God sent down the verse: *Certainly God has fulfilled His Apostle's vision in all truth: you will surely enter the Scared Mosque, God willing, in safety, with your heads shaven or hair cropped, without fear. He knew what you did not know, and He assigned [you] besides that, a victory near at hand.*

The Prophet (ṣ) married Maymūnah ibn al-Ḥārith during the ʿumrah of compensation. Some Sunni narrations say that the wedding took place while he was a *muḥrim* (i.e. in a state of *iḥrām*) while others indicate that it happened when they were both not *muḥrim*.

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim relates that Ibn ʿAbbās said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) married Maymūnah when he was a *muḥrim*.

However *Sunan Abī-Dāwūd* mentions that Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab said: Ibn ʿAbbās is mistaken in saying that he (the Prophet) married Maymūnah when he was a *muḥrim*.

Ibn Abī-Shaybah relates that ʿAṭā al-Khurāsānī said: I said to Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib that ʿIkrimah holds that the Prophet (ṣ) married when he was a *muḥrim* and he answered, "He has lied."

The three works just mentioned all relate that Zayd ibn al-Aṣamm, a nephew of Maymūnah heard her saying: The Apostle of God (ṣ) married me at Ṣārif, when we were both non-*muḥrim*.

As we have seen from Shaykh al-Ṭabarsī's account which we quoted above, the Apostle (ṣ) sent Jaʿfar ibn Abī-Ṭālib to precede to Makkah and introduce his intention with regard to Maymūnah bint al-Ḥārith while he himself took the *iḥrām* at al-Juʿfah, so he neither sought the marriage nor wedded during the state of *iḥrām*.

Al-Ṭabarsī's words seem to indicate that the Apostle (ṣ) intended to conduct the marriage at Makkah after ʿumrah but the Makkans would not concede to any delay, so it took place at Ṣārif on his way back to al-Madīnah. Thus his account resolves the controversy on whether Apostle (ṣ) married in a state of *iḥrām* or not; his seeking was done before it, and the wedding after it.

Usd al-Ghābah: Asmā' bint ʿUmays, the sister of Maymūnah bint al-Ḥārith, the Prophet's wife, was a sister to Ummul-Faḍl, the wife of ʿAbbās, and also her half sisters by the mother's side; they were ten sisters by their mother. Other reports say they were nine. Concerning this, Shaykh Ṣadūq related that Imam Muḥammad Bāqir (ʿa) said: May God shower His graces on the sisters who are dwellers of Paradise: Asmā' bint ʿUmays al-Khathʿamiyah, wife of Jaʿfar ibn Abī-Ṭālib; Salmā bint ʿUmays al-Khathʿamiyah, wife of Ḥamzah; five sisters of the Banū-Hilāl family: Maymūnah bint al-Ḥārith, wife of the Apostle of God (ṣ), Ummu'l-Faḍl, wife of ʿAbbās (her first name was Hind), al-Ghamīṣah, mother of Khālid ibn al-Walīd, ʿIzzah, who lived among the Thaqīf and was wife of Ḥajjāj ibn Ghallāẓ, and Ḥumaydah, who left no child.

3. ʿUmrah of al-Jaʿrāniyah

Al-Wāqidī reports (we present an abridged version of it): The Apostle of God (ṣ) took *iḥrām* at the Mosque which was situated below the valley, and his prayer place was at al-Jaʿrāniyah; he never passed the valley except as a *muḥrim*. Then he continued chanting *talbiyah* until he touched the Corner. It is said that when he saw the House he stopped chanting it and that his camel knelt down at the Banū-Shaybah door. He entered and went round the Kaʿbah and then came out and did the circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah riding his mount. On completing the seventh leg at Marwah he shaved his head there. The Apostle (ṣ) did not bring along offerings for this ʿumrah. Then he returned to al-Jaʿrāniyah, where he spent the [remaining part of] the night until morning.

Al-Tirmidhī relates that Muḥarrish al-Kaʿbī said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) set out at night from al-Jaʿrāniyah for ʿumrah, entered Makkah the same night, performed his ʿumrah and left Makkah the same night, and returned to al-Jaʿrāniyah for the rest of the night as though he had spent it all there.

Because of this his ʿumrah was unknown to the people.

Al-Kulaynī relates: From one of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd, from Ṣafwān, from Abū'l-Faḍl, from Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) who said: The Apostle of God (ṣ) took *iḥrām* at al-Jaʿrāniyah, a place from which he achieved a number of conquests: the conquest of Ṭā'if, the conquest of Khaybar and the conquest of Makkah.

In another narration, al-Kulaynī relates: From Abū-ʿAlī al-Ashʿarī, from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Ṣafwān, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥajjāj, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) who said: Al-Jaʿrāniyah was among the *mawāqīt* of the Apostle of God (ṣ); he took *iḥrām* there when he divided the spoils of Ḥunayn and when he returned from Ṭā'if.

STORIES INVOLVING THE INFALLIBLES IN MAKKAH

The noble city of Makkah and the venerated places around it are special stations for supplication, entreaty, and humility before God and for worshipping Him. They are symbols of the purpose of creation, of which God the Exalted says: *I did not create the jinn and the humans except that they may worship Me*.

The great Prophet (ṣ), and his successors, the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) had emphasized its importance. They were indeed the sons of Makkah and Minā and the adornment of Zamzam and Ṣafā, so whenever they had the honor of setting foot on this holy land—or rather honored it by their presence—their primary concern had been devotion to God and inviting people to it; teaching them the rites and the supplications; and urging and encouraging them to devote themselves to worship and remembrance.

They were the paragons of obedience to God and inviters to it in all times and places, so their spiritual states in God's sanctuary must have been lofty. Although they are beyond our comprehension, we will somehow describe them, and that is by embellishing the present book with some narratives about these pure souls, which I have read in other works, without giving much attention to the traditional rigor to ascertain their accuracy.

The Noble Prophet

1. The Prophet (ṣ) passed by a man who was clinging to the drapes of the Kaʿbah and saying, "I beseech You by the sanctity of this House."

The Prophet (ṣ) said, "O servant of God, beseech by your sanctity because the sanctity of a believer is greater in the sight of God than the sanctity of the House."

The man said, "O Apostle of God! I have committed a grievous sin."

"What sin?" He enquired.

The man said, "I have a lot of money, my livestock is plenty and I have a lot of recourses but if someone requests anything from me I feel as if a blaze emanates from my face."

The Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "Away from me, you sinner! Do not burn me

with your sin. By the One in Whose hand is my life, if you will fast for a thousand years and pray for a thousand years and then die a miser, God will certainly throw you face down into the Fire. Do you not know that niggardliness is part of unbelief and unbelief leads to the Fire, and generosity is from faith and faith leads to Paradise?"

2. Al-Kafʿamī writes about the supplication of the Protector in the glosses on *Miṣbāḥ*: This supplication, which is called the supplication of the Protector (*al-Mujīr*), is great and very important. There are several versions of it, but the most complete is the one we have recorded. It is related from the Prophet (ṣ) and Gabriel brought it to him when he was praying by the Station of Abraham (ʿa).

Then he mentioned the merits of this supplication, the text of which is found in the books of supplications.

The Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib

3. Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Masʿūd al-ʿAyyāshī relates in his *Tafsīr* that ʿUbaydullāh al-Ḥalabī has related from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) and Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) that they said: ʿUmar [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb] went on ḥajj in the first year he became caliph. That year [many] Migrants and Helpers attended the pilgrimage. ʿAlī (ʿa) also went and took with him Ḥasan (ʿa), Ḥusayn (ʿa) and ʿAbdullāh ibn Jaʿfar. When the pilgrims entered Makkah and circumambulated the House, ʿUmar touched the [Black] Stone and said, "I swear by God, I know that you are only a stone that does neither harm nor benefit. Had it not been that the Apostle of God (ṣ) had touched you I would not touch you."

ʿAlī (ʿa) remarked, "Keep your peace, O Abū-Ḥafṣ and do not say so. Indeed the Apostle of God (ṣ) did not touch it except on account of something he knew. If you had read the Qur'ān and understood its interpretation as others did, you would have known that it (the Stone) is capable of harm and benefit; it has a pair of eyes, a pair of ears and a fluent tongue by which it bears witness that those who visit it have fulfilled their covenant."

"O Abū'l-Ḥasan," ʿUmar returned. "Tell me where it is mentioned in the Qur'ān."

ʿAlī said, "The words of God the Exalted: *When your Lord took from the Children of Adam, from their loins, their descendants and made them bear witness over themselves and [He said to them]: 'Am I not your Lord?' They said, 'Yes, indeed! We bear witness.*' When they accepted to obey and affirmed Him as the Lord, and that they were His bondservants, He entered into a covenant with them that they would perform the pilgrimage to His

Sacred House. Then God created a parchment thinner than [a film of] water and said to the Pen, 'Write: The fulfillment of My creatures' [obligation] is achieved by visiting My Holy House.' Thus, the Pen wrote down the fulfillment of the Children of Adam in the parchment. Then it was said to the stone: 'Open your mouth,' and it did so and swallowed the parchment. Then He said to the stone, 'Preserve it and bear witness of my servants' fulfilling their covenant.' Then the stone descended in obedience to God's commands. O ʿUmar, when you touch the stone do you not say: 'I have redeemed my pledge and fulfilled my covenant so that you may testify that I have discharged my duty?'"

ʿUmar said, "Most certainly."

Then ʿAlī (ʿa) said to him, "Be assured of that."

4. Shaykh al-Ṣadūq says: Aḥmad ibn Ziyād ibn Jaʿfar al-Hamdānī informed us, from ʿUmar ibn Sahl ibn Ismāʿīl al-Daynawarī, from Zayd ibn Ismāʿīl al-Ṣā'igh from Muʿāwiyah ibn Hishām, from Sufyān, from ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿUmayr, from Khālid ibn Rabʿī who said: The Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) went to Makkah for some affair and met a Bedouin clinging to the curtains of the Kaʿbah, saying, "O Owner of this House! The House is Yours and the guest is also Yours, and every host serves his guest the guest-meal, so let forgiveness be my guest-meal from You this night."

The Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) said to his companions, "Do you not hear what the Bedouin said?"

They said, "Yes."

Then he said, "God is too generous to turn away His guest."

The next night he met him clinging to the same corner of the House and saying, "O Mighty One, no one is mightier than You in Your power. Make me great by the might of Your power in a mightiness whose essence no one knows. I am turning to You and seeking the intersession of Muḥammad and the Household of Muḥammad by the right that is their due from You. Grant me that which none other than You can grant me and ward off from me that which no one else can ward off from me."

The Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) said to his companions, "By God, this is the greatest prayer in Syriac language, my beloved the Apostle of God (ṣ) informed me so. The man has asked God for Paradise and He has granted it to him, and he asked to be saved from the Fire and He has answered him."

On the third night, he met the man clinging to the same corner saying, "O

He, whom space does not contain and no space is devoid of, albeit without any [anthropomorphic] quality intended, give this Bedouin four thousand dirhams this night."

The Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) went near him and said, "O Bedouin, You supplicated for the *guest-meal* and God granted it to you, then you requested Him to give you Paradise and he granted it, you prayed to be safe from the Fire and He granted it and this night you are praying for four thousand dirhams?"

The Bedouin said, "Who are you?"

He said, "I am ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib."

The Bedouin said, "By God, you are the one I have been looking for and before whom I wish to lodge my appeal."

He said, "Ask, O Bedouin."

The Bedouin said, "I want one thousand dirhams to give as dowry, one thousand dirhams to pay my debts, one thousand dirhams to buy a house and one thousand dirhams for my livelihood."

He said, "You have spoken justly, O Bedouin. When you leave Makkah ask for my house in the city of the Apostle (i.e. al-Madīnah)."

The Bedouin stayed for a week in Makkah and set out to look for the Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) in the city of the Apostle (ṣ). [On entering al-Madīnah] he called aloud: "Who will guide me to the house of the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī (ʿa)?"

Al-Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī (ʿa), who was among the children, said, "I will show you the house of the Commander of the Faithful. I am his son, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī."

The man said, "Who is your father?"

He replied, "The Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa)."

He said, "Who is your mother?"

He replied, "Fāṭimah al-Zahrā', the chiefess of the women of the worlds."

The man said, "Who is your grandfather?"

He replied, "The Apostle of God, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib."

The man said, "Who is your grandmother?"

He replied, “Khadījah bint Khuwaylid.”

The man said, “Who is your brother?”

He replied, “Abū-Muḥammad, Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī.”

The man said, “I have attained everything of this world. Go to the Commander of the Faithful and tell him that a Bedouin who had been promised at Makkah is waiting outside.”

Al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ʿa) entered and said, “O Father, a Bedouin claiming to have been promised at Makkah is waiting outside.”

He said, “O Fāṭimah, do you have some food we may give to a Bedouin waiting outside?”

She replied, “No.”

Then the Commander of the Faithful dressed up and went out. He said, “Call Abū-ʿAbdullāh Salmān al-Fārisī.”

When Salmān (may God have mercy on him) came, he said to him, “O Abū-ʿAbdullāh, offer the merchants the palm grove which the Apostle of God (ṣ) planted for me.”

Salmān went to the market and offered it to them, and they bought it for twelve thousand dirhams. He collected the money and took it to the Commander of the Faithful (ʿa), who called the Bedouin and gave him four thousand dirhams and forty dirhams more for his provisions.

The beggars in al-Madīnah heard the story and gathered [around the Commander of the Faithful]. A man from the Helpers went and told Fāṭimah (ʿa) what had happened. She said to him, “May God reward you!”

ʿAlī (ʿa) sat down with the money laid in front him. He waited for his companions to gather and when they arrived he took a handful of the coins and gave to each of them until nothing was left. When he came home Fāṭimah (ʿa) said, “O cousin, you have sold the grove that my father planted for you?”

“Yes,” he replied. “For something better than it in this world and the next.”

She said, “So where is the money?”

He said, “I have given it out to some people. I thought it was shameful to wait until they faced the humiliation of having to ask me for it.”

Fāṭimah said, “I am hungry, my two sons are hungry and I have no doubt that you are also hungry like us, but we do not get even a dirham out of the

money."

Then she took hold of his garment and ʿAlī (ʿa) said, "O Fāṭimah, let go [of my garment]."

She said, "No, by God [I will not] until my father judges between us."

Then Gabriel (ʿa) descended to the Apostle of God (ṣ) and said, "O Muḥammad, God is greeting you and saying: Greet ʿAlī and say to Fāṭimah that she has no right to slap the hands of ʿAlī or hold his garment."

When the Apostle of God (ṣ) came to ʿAlī's house and found Fāṭimah (ʿa) grasping his shirt, he said to her, "My daughter, why are you holding ʿAlī?"

She replied, "O father, he has sold the grove which you planted for him for twelve thousand dirhams, but he did not keep a single dirham with which we may buy food."

He said, "O my daughter, Gabriel (ʿa) has communicated my Lord's greetings to me and said: Extend the Lord's greeting to ʿAlī. And instructed me to tell you that you have no right to slap his hands or hold his garment."

Fāṭimah (ʿa) said, "I seek God's forgiveness and I will never ever repeat this."

Fāṭimah (ʿa) said: Then my father went out taking one way and my husband taking another. After a while my father returned with seven dark dirhams of al-Ḥajar manufacture, and said, "O Fāṭimah, where is your cousin?"

I replied, "He has gone out."

Then the Apostle of God (ṣ) said, "Take these dirhams and when your cousin returns tell him to buy food for you."

It was not long before ʿAlī (ʿa) came back and said, "Did my cousin return, for I am sensing a sweet smell?"

"Yes," she replied. "And he has given me something with which you will buy food for us."

He said, "Bring it!" and she handed him the seven dark Ḥajari dirhams. Then he said, "In the name of God, excellent and immense praise be to God. This is from the provision of God the Mighty and Sublime."

Then he said to his son, "O Ḥasan, come with me."

Then they went to the market and met a man standing there and saying, "Who will give a loan to a man, gives respite, and is true to his word?"

He said, “My son, will you give him?”

He said, “Yes, by God, O father.” And ʿAlī (ʿa) gave the man the dirhams.

Ḥasan said, “Father, you gave him all the dirhams?”

He replied, “Yes, my son. Certainly the one who gives little (meaning God) is able to give much.”

Then ʿAlī (ʿa) went to the house of a man he intended to ask for a loan, and he met a Bedouin with a camel. The Bedouin said, “O ʿAlī, buy this camel from me,” but he replied, “I do not have the money to buy it.”

The man said, “I will give you respite until the time you can pay.”

He said, “How much is it, O Bedouin?”

The man replied, “A hundred dirhams.”

ʿAlī said, “Take it, Ḥasan,” and he took it.

Then ʿAlī (ʿa) moved on and another Bedouin with the same form as the first, but wearing different clothes, met him and said, “O ʿAlī, will you sell the camel?”

ʿAlī said, “What will you do with it?”

The man said, “I will participate in the first military expedition your cousin will launch.”

He said, “If you like you can take it for free.”

The man said, “I can pay for it and I will only have it for its price. How much did you buy it?”

He said, “A hundred dirhams.”

The Bedouin said, “I will give you a hundred and seventy dirhams.”

ʿAlī said [to Ḥasan], “Take the hundred and seventy dirhams and give him the camel. The hundred will go to the Bedouin who sold us the camel and the seventy will be ours. We shall buy something with it.”

So, Ḥasan (ʿa) took the money and gave the camel to the man.

ʿAlī (ʿa) said: Then I went looking for the Bedouin from whom I had bought the camel to pay him his money, and I saw the Apostle of God (ṣ) sitting in a place by the road, where I have never seen him sit before or after that incident. When he saw me he smiled until his canine teeth appeared. I said, “May God give you cause to laugh and make you glad today.”

He said, "O Abū'l-Ḥasan, are you looking for the Bedouin who sold you a camel to pay him?"

I said, "Yes, by God, may my father and mother be your ransom."

He said, "O Abū'l-Ḥasan, the one who sold you the camel was Gabriel (ʿa), and the one who bought it from you was Michael (ʿa), the camel was a camel of Paradise and the dirhams were from the Lord of the worlds, Mighty and Sublime is He. So spend them on good and never fear poverty."

5. During the circumambulation, a man was gazing at what is forbidden to be seen of Muslims and ʿAlī (ʿa) slapped him. He complained to ʿUmar, but he said, "He has beaten you rightly. You have been hit by one of the distinguished men of God."

6. Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs says: Some scholars relate that al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ʿa) has said: I was with ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) as he went round the Kaʿbah on a dark night when the place was empty of circumambulators, the pilgrims had gone to sleep and silence reigned. Suddenly, we heard the call of someone pleading for help, protection and mercy from God. In a grief-stricken voice and a heavy heart he was saying in verse:

O He, who answers the prayer of the one in darkness and driven by necessity,
O He who wards off affliction, tribulation and disease;
Your visitors have slept around the House and woke up again, while he is praying, and Your Eye never sleeps, O Everlasting One!
By Your favor, grant me the best form of forgiveness for my sin, O He, Whom the creatures address in the sanctuary!
If Your forgiveness is not attained by the sinner, then who will favor the disobedient with blessings?!

He said to me, "O Abū-ʿAbdullāh, have you heard the pleader who admits his sins and asks for the succor of his Lord?"

I said, "Yes, I have heard him."

He said, "Look for him, perhaps you will see him."

I groped in the darkness, passing in-between the sleepers until I reached the place between the Corner [of the Black Stone] and the Station [of Abraham (ʿa)]. An upright figure appeared to me. When I looked carefully, I saw that it was a man standing. I said, "Peace be on you, O God's servant, who admits his failure and seeks His forgiveness, pardon and protection. For God's sake, respond to the summons of the cousin of the Apostle of God."

So he quickly did his prostration and sitting and said *taslīm* (the closing formula for prayers). Then he motioned me with his hand as if to say, "Lead me to where he is," without uttering a word.

So I took him to the Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) and said, "Here he is."

He looked at the man and saw that he was a young man with a handsome face and clean clothes. He asked him, "From where are you?"

He replied, "From a group of Arabs."

He said, "What is your situation, and why are you weeping and asking for succor thus?"

The man replied, "My situation is that of the one who is being punished for disobeying his parents, who is in great distress and subject to difficulties, and overwhelmed by grief. He who has fallen into doubt, his prayers are not answered."

ʿAlī (ʿa) said to him, "Why is that?"

He said, "Among the Arabs, I was given to fun and indulgence, I was always engaged in disobedience in the months of Rajab and Shaʿbān, and I was not wary of the Merciful. My father was a compassionate man and he used to warn me about the pitfalls of youth and frighten me with the punishment of the Fire. He would say, 'How often have daytime and darkness cried out because of you, as did nights and days, months and years, and the noble angels!' When he pestered me with admonition, I used to scold, upbraid, and beat him. One day, I intended to take his money, which was kept in a hidden place, in order to spend it on my dissipation, but he sought to prevent me. So I beat him terribly, twisted his hand, took the money and went away. He placed his hands on his knees to raise himself from the place but he could not move them, because of the terrible pain he experienced. So he composed these verses:

There happened to be kinship ties between me and a rebel, just like the way the seeker of rain seeks its fall;
I trained him until he grew stout like a fast camel, when he stood up his shoulders reached the shoulders of a horse;
I used to provide him with provisions when he was a lad, when he became hungry for it: pure and wholesome food.
When he reached the bloom of his youth and became like a firm spear,
He caught me unjustly and twisted my hand, may God, his Subduer twist his hand.

Then he swore by God that he would certainly go the Scared House of God and invoke God against me. He fasted for weeks, offered many cycles of prayer, supplicated and then he set out to ride for the journey through the deserts, across the valleys and over the mountains until he reached Makkah on the day of the great ḥajj. He dismounted his riding animal and went the Sacred House of God, made the circuiting and circumambulation and then clung to the curtains of the House, prayed earnestly to God and said:

O the One, to Whom the pilgrims come in difficulty, over chasms from distant places;
I have come to You, O the One, Who does not frustrate him who pleads and earnestly asks the One and All-Sustaining;
This is a rebel who is never satisfied from disobeying me, so extract my due from my son, O Irresistible One!
Until his side is paralyzed by Your help. O the Holy One who begets not nor was He begotten!

I swear by the One who makes the heavens thick and makes water to gush forth, he hardly finished his entreaty before what you see with me descended on me (then he bared his right side and there it was, paralyzed). For the past three years I have been asking him to pray for me in the same place he had invoked against me, but he did not respond. This year he favored me [with a response] so I set out on a fine riding camel travelling at high speed with the hope of being healed. Unfortunately, when we reached here, a flock of birds fluttered at night and frightened the camel he was riding and it threw him down the valley. He was crushed between two stones and I buried him there. And what is worse is that I am not known by any name except ʿthe one who is punished because of his father's invocation.'"

The Commander of the Faithful (ṣ) said, "Succor has come your way. Shall I teach you a supplication the Apostle of God (ṣ) has taught me? It contains the greatest, supreme, most powerful and most honorable name of God, by which He answers the supplication of those who supplicate to Him, grants the pleas of those who plead to Him, dispels worries, removes grief and anxiety, heals disease, restores to normalcy from a condition of poverty, enriches the poor, settles debts, wards off the effect of the evil eye, forgives the sins, conceals imperfections, and gives safety to anyone in fear of the rebellious Satan or a wicked and obstinate ruler.

Should an obedient servant of God recite it so that a mountain [should be removed from its place] it will be removed, if he recites it over a dead person, God will revive him, if he recites it on a water he will walk on it as

long as he is not conceited. So fear God, because mercy has come to my aid for you. Let your intention be true in the sight of God. You shall not recite this supplication for a matter involving disobedience to God and you shall not give it to anybody except one who is trustworthy in your religion. If you purify your purpose, God will answer you and you will see your prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) in a dream, giving you the glad tidings of paradise and the answer to your prayer."

[Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ʿa) said,] My delight in learning the merits of the supplication was more intense than the man's delight that he would be cured of his affliction, because I had not heard it from him and I had not known this prayer before then. Then he said, "Bring me an ink pot and a piece of paper and write what I will dictate to you," and I did. This is the text of the supplication:

O Allah, I beseech You with Your Name. In the Name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Benign; O Lord of Majesty and Generosity; O Living; O Self-Subsisting, O Ever-living, there is no God but You; O He, Whom no one knows what He is, nor how He is, nor where He is, except He Himself. O Lord of Kingdom and Supremacy; O Lord of Honor and Omnipotence; O Sovereign Lord, O Holy One; O Peace; O Keeper of Faith; O Guardian; O Revered One; O Compeller; O Imperious; O Creator, O Maker of all things from nothing; O Artist; O Beneficent; O Administrator; O Severe (in wrath); O Inventor; O Restorer; O Annihilator; O Most Loving; O Praised; O Adored; O You Who are near; O Answerer of prayer; O Observer; O Reckoner; O Innovator; O Exalted; O Unassailable; O Hearer; O Knower; O Wise; O Bountiful; O Firm; O Eternal; O Knower; O Sempiternal.

O Lofty; O Great; O most Compassionate; O Giver of all good; O most perfect Requiter; O You, Whose help is sought for; O Majestic; O Glorious; O Trusted; O Guardian; O Releaser from guilt; O Fulfiller of hopes; O Magnanimous; O Guide; O Giver of guidance; O Commencer; O First; O Last; O Evident; O Hidden; O Ruler; O Dispenser of justice; O Equitable; O Eminent; O Joiner; O Pure; O Purifier; O Powerful; O Almighty; O Great; O Magnificent. O One; O Matchless; O Eternal and Everlasting; O You, Who begets not, nor are You begotten, nor is there anyone equal to You, nor have You any spouse, nor any helper, nor any counselor, nor do You need any supporter, nor is there with You any other deity. There is no God but You, and far exalted are You above all that which the unjust folk do say concerning You.

O Knower; O Lofty; O most Glorious; O Opener; O Diffuser of fragrance; O

Tolerant; O Reliever; O Helper; O Victorious; O Overtaker; O Destroyer; O Avenger; O Resurrector; O Inheritor; O Seeker; O Conqueror; O You, from Whom no fugitive can escape; O Acceptor of repentance; O Ever-forgiving; O Great Bestower; O Causer of all causes; O Opener of doors (of relief and salvation); O You that answers howsoever You are invoked; O Purifier; O Giver of manifold rewards; O Pardoner; O Forgiver; O Light of all lights; O Director of all affairs; O Ever Blissful; O All-Aware; O Superior; O Luminous; O Seer; O Supporter; O Great; O Alone; O Unique; O Everlasting; O Upholder; O Sufficer; O Charitable; O Beautifier; O Healer; O Fulfiller of promises; O Deliverer of welfare; O Benefactor; O Bestower of grace; O Granter of favors; O Peerless.

O You, Who, being Exalted, overwhelm; O You, Who, being Master of all, have absolute power; O You, Who, being hidden, are well aware; O You, Who, being worshipped, rewards; O You, Who, being disobeyed, forgives; O You, Whom no thought can fully comprehend, nor sight perceive, nor from Whom any impression is hidden; O Nourisher of Mankind; O Ordainer of every destiny; O You of Exalted position; O possessor of formidable foundations; O Changer of time; O Acceptor of sacrifice; O Bestower of favors and benefactions; O Lord of Honor and Supremacy; O All-merciful; O All-compassionate; O You, Who are in distinctive glory each day; O You, Who one affair does not distract from another; (Oh Lord of great Glory; O You that are present in every place.)

O Hearer of voices; O Answerer of prayers; O Granter of success in all requests; O Fulfiller of all needs; O Bestower of blessings; O You, Who takes pity on our tears; O Overlooker of slips; O Reliever of agonies; O Promoter of good deeds; O Raiser of ranks; O Granter of requests; O Reviver of the dead; O Gatherer of the scattered; O You, Who are aware of intentions; O Restorer of what has been lost; O You, Who are not confused by a multiplicity of voices; O You, Who are not annoyed by a multitude of petitions, and not covered by darkness; O Light of heaven and earth.

O Giver of blessings in abundance; O Averter of calamities; O Creator of life from nothing; O Gatherer of nations; O Healer of disease; O Creator of light and darkness; O Lord of generosity and munificence;

O You (on) whose throne no one can set foot; O Most generous of the most generous; O Most munificent than the most munificent; O Most acute of hearing than all hearers; O Most acute of vision than all those who see; O Protector of those who seek protection; O Refuge of the fearful; O Supporter of those who take refuge (in You); O Patron of the faithful; O Helper of

those that seek Your help; O Ultimate Goal of those that aspire.

O Companion to every stranger; O You, Who give companionship to the forlorn; O Refuge of all outcasts; O Retreat of all persecuted ones; O Protector of all who pray; O You, Who are compassionate to the aged; O You, Who nourish the little baby; O You, Who joins together broken ones; O Liberator of all prisoners; O Enricher of the miserable poor; O Protector of the frightened refugee; O You, in Whose hand are both destiny and disposal; O You, for Whom the difficult is simple and easy; O You, Who are needless of any explanation; O You, Who are Mighty over all things; O You, Who are aware of all things; O You who are Seer of all things.

O Sender of the winds; O Cleaver of the day; O Reviver of the spirits; O Lord of Generosity and Clemency; O You, in whose Hands are all keys. O Hearer of all voices; O You, Who precedes all that has passed; O Reviver of every soul after death; O my Means of defense in confronting hardships; O my Guardian in strange lands; O my Friend in my loneliness; O my Master, source of my favors; O my Refuge when all means have tired me out, when my kinsfolk have turned me over to my foes and all my comrades have forsaken me; O Support of he who has no support; O Guarantor of he who has no guarantor; O Treasure of he who has no treasure; O Refuge of he who has no refuge; O Means of he who has no strength; O He on whom relies one who has none to rely on,

O Succor of him who has no succor; O Neighbor of him who has no neighbor; O my adjacent Neighbor; O my firm support; O You, my God, Who are certainly so; O Lord of the Ancient House (the Ka'bah);

O Affectionate One; O Nearest Friend; Liberate me from the choking fetters; Remove from me all sorrow, suffering and grief; Protect me from the evil that I am unable to bear, and help me with that which I can bear.

O Restorer of Joseph to Jacob; O Curer of Job's malady; O Pardoner of David's fault; O You, Who raised up Jesus, son of Mary, and saved him from the Jews; O You, Who answered the prayer of Jonah in the darkness; O You, Who chose Moses by means of words; O You, Who forgave Adam his error and raised Idrīs to an exalted station by Your mercy; O You, Who saved Noah from drowning; O You, Who destroyed the former tribe of Ad and then Thamūd, sparing none of them, and destroyed the people of Noah before that, for verily they were the most unjust and rebellious; and overthrew the town that was overturned; O You, Who destroyed the people of Lot, and annihilated the people of Shu'ayb.

O You, Who chose Abraham as a friend; O You, Who chose Moses as one spoken unto; and chose Muḥammad (Your blessings be upon him and his progeny, and all of them) as Your Beloved; O You, Who gave Luqmān wisdom, and bestowed upon Solomon a kingdom, the like of which shall not behove anyone after him; O You, Who helped Dhū'l-Qarnayn against the tyrants kings; O You, Who granted Kheḍir long life and brought back the sun for Yūsha', the son of Nun, after it had set; O You, Who gave solace to the heart of Moses' mother and protected the chastity of Mary, daughter of 'Imrān; O You, Who fortified John the son of Zachariah against sin and abated the wrath of Moses; O You, Who gave glad tidings of (the birth of) John to Zachariah; O You, Who saved Ishmael from slaughter by substituting him with a great sacrifice; O You, Who accepted the offering of Abel and placed the curse upon Cain; O Defeater of the Confederates for Muḥammad (blessings of God be upon him and his Progeny), bestow Your blessings upon Muḥammad and the Progeny of Muḥammad, upon all Your Messengers, upon the archangels and upon all Your obedient servants. I beseech You by all the pleas of those who have earned Your pleasure, when they beseeched You and You assured them of Your answer.

O God, O God, O God; O Most Merciful, O Most Merciful, O Most Merciful; O Most Beneficent, O Most Beneficent, O Most Beneficent; O Lord of Majesty and Grace, O Lord of Majesty and Grace, O Lord of Majesty and Grace; Through You, Through You, Through You, Through You, Through You, Through You, Through You; I beseech You with the help of all the names by which You have named Yourself, or which You have revealed in any of Your inspired Scriptures, or Which You have kept to Yourself in the knowledge of the unknown that is with You, and (I beseech You) in the name of the stations of glory of Your Throne, and in the name of the utmost degree of Your Mercy, as expressed in Your Book, and in the name of that which 'if all the trees on earth were pens and the sea replenished with seven more seas [were ink] the words of God would not be spent. Indeed God is All-mighty, All-wise;' And I beseech You by Your Beautiful Names which You have mentioned in Your Book, saying 'To God belong the Best Names, so supplicate Him by them;' and You have said 'Call Me and I will answer you;' and You have said, 'When My servants ask you about Me [tell them] I am indeed near, I answer a supplicant's call when he calls Me;' and You have said, 'O My servants who have committed excesses against their own souls, do not despair of the Mercy of God. Indeed God forgives all the sins. Indeed He is the All-forgiving, the All-merciful.' Therefore I pray to You, O my God, and I crave for Your acceptance, O my Protector, even as You have promised me, for I have called You even as You have commanded me so, do

for me (such and such).

[ʿAlī (ʿa) said,] "Then you ask God the Exalted what you want, mentioning your request [instead of saying 'such and such']. Do not recite it unless in a state of spiritual purity (that is after performing the necessary ablutions)."

Then he said to the young man, "When night sets in read this supplication ten times and come to me tomorrow and give me the news." The young man took the script and left. He came back in the morning the following day healthy and healed, holding the script paper in his hand and saying, "By God this is the greatest name of God. My prayer is answered, I swear by the Lord of the Kaʿbah."

ʿAlī (ʿa) said to him, "Tell me what happened."

He said, "When people had slept and the night became dark I raised my hands up with the script in it and supplicated to God repeatedly by what is due to Him. After the second time I was answered: 'It suffices, for you have invoked God with His greatest name.' Then I lay down and I saw the Apostle of God (ṣ) in my sleep. He rubbed his blessed hand over me as he said, 'Keep the great and supreme name of God, you are surely with goodness.' Then I woke up a healed man as you see. May God reward you!"

7. Shaykh al-Mufīd says: Abū-Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn informed me, from Abū-ʿAlī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣawlī, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Yaḥyā al-Jalūdī, from Ḥusayn ibn Ḥammād, from Mukhawwal ibn Ibrāhīm, from Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī'l-Aswad, from Maḥfūẓ ibn ʿUbaydullāh, from a chief of the people of Ḥaḍramawt, from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, may God have mercy on him who said: The Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) was circumambulating the House when he saw a man clinging to the curtains and saying, "O He Who no hearing distracts from another hearing! O He Whom the [pleas] of beseechers does not cause to err! O He Who is not bored by the persistence of those who persist! Make me taste the coolness of Your pardon and the sweetness of Your mercy."

The Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) said to him, "Is this your supplication?"

The man said to him, "Have you heard it?"

He said, "Yes. Recite it after every [instituted] prayer. By God, no believer recites it after the prayers, but God forgives his sins, even if they are as many as the number of the stars of heaven and the drops of water [that fall from it], and the number of the pebbles of the earth and the grains of its soil."

The Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) added, "The knowledge of this matter is

with me and God is All-bounteous, All-knowing."

The man (who was al-Kheḍir) said to him, "You have said the truth, O Commander of the Faithful: *And above every man of knowledge is One Who knows best*."

8. *Al-Kāfī*: Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, ʿAlī ibn Ḥadīd, from ʿAlī ibn al-Nuʿmān who (without mentioning the intermediate narrators) said that when the Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) ascended the Ṣafā he would face the Kaʿbah, raise his hands and say, "O God, forgive me every sin I ever committed, if I repeat it, repeat your forgiveness to me, because You are the oft-forgiving oft-merciful. O God, do unto me what is befitting to You, because if You do to me what is befitting to You, then You will have treated me with mercy. But if You are to punish me, surely You are needless of punishing me, while I need Your mercy. O He, whose mercy I am in need of, have mercy on me. O God, do not do unto me what I deserve, because if You do to me what I deserve, then You will have punished me without having treated me unjustly. I am wary of Your justice and do not fear that You will treat me unjustly, O He, Who is Just and does no injustice, have mercy on me!"

9. The eminent scholar Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs writes: We are relating the following narration through our chains of narrators, from Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh in his book *Faḍl al-Duʿā'*. He says: Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Maghīrah al-Kūfī informed me, from his father, from Sayf ibn ʿUmayrah, from Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa), from his father (al-Bāqir), from his grandfather (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn), from ʿAlī (ʿa); (from Abū-ʿAbdullāh) from someone, from Fāṭimah (ʿa) daughter of the Apostle of God (ṣ); from Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Shihāb, from Salmān, from the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ); from ʿAṭā ibn Abī-Rabāḥ, from Abū-Dharr, from the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ); from ʿĀṣim ibn Abī'l-Nujūd, from Abū-ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Salamī, from the Commander of the Faithful (ṣ); and from Mujāhid from around thirty men, and all of the ones we mentioned in the above chains say: We have heard the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, say, as he faced the Yemeni Corner: "Hā (a word of exclamation meaning: I am) by the Lord of the Kaʿbah!"

Then he passed on to the Black Stone and said, "Hā by the Lord of the Kaʿbah."

He continued until he passed all the four corners saying, "Hā by the Lord of the Kaʿbah."

Then he said, "Hā by the Lord of all the corners, hā by the Lord of Mashāʿir,

hā the by the Lord of these sacred ones! Surely I have heard the Apostle of God (ṣ) saying that this narration which I am now going to tell you is written in the Psalms of David, the Torah of Moses, the Gospel of Jesus and the Qur'ān of Muḥammad, peace be upon him and all the prophets and messengers, and also in a thousand books that have been sent down from heaven to a thousand prophets:

Whoever says: There is no deity except God in His knowledge to the highest degree of His approval. There is no deity except God after His knowledge to the highest degree of His approval. God is greatest in His knowledge to the highest degree of His approval. God is greatest after His knowledge to the highest degree of His approval. God is greatest together with His knowledge to the highest degree of His approval. Praise be to God in His knowledge to the highest degree of His approval. Praise be to God after His knowledge to the highest degree of His approval. Praise be to God together with His knowledge to the highest degree of His approval.

Glory be to God in His knowledge to the highest degree of His approval. Glory be to God after His knowledge to the highest degree of His approval. Glory be to God together with His knowledge to the highest degree of His approval. Praise be to God with all the means of praising Him for all His bounties. Glory and praise be to God to the highest degree of His approval in His knowledge, God is greatest and He deserves that.

There is no deity except God, the Clement and Munificent. There is no deity except God, the Lofty and Great. There is no deity except God, the Light of the seven heavens, the Light of the seven earths and the Light of the Great Throne. There is no deity except God, a mention of His oneness (*tahlīl*) that none can reckon except Him, before everyone, together with everyone and after everyone. God is the greatest, a mentioning of His greatness (*takbīr*) that none can reckon except Him, before everyone, together with everyone and after everyone.

Praise be to God, a form of praising that none can reckon except Him, before everyone, together with everyone and after everyone. There is no power or strength except with God, the Supreme and Great, an extolment none can reckon except Him, before everyone, together with everyone and after everyone. Glory be to God, a glorification none can reckon except Him, before everyone, together with everyone and after everyone.

O God I call upon You as witness and You suffice as witness, so bear witness for me that [I believe] that Your word is true and Your deed is true, Your decree is true and Your preordainment is true, Your apostles are true,

Your testamentary legatees are true, Your mercy is true, Your Paradise is true, Your Fire is true, Your resurrection is true, You are the one Who causes the living to die, You are reviver of the dead, You resurrect those in the graves, You are gatherer of mankind on the day about which there is no doubt, and You do not break promises.

O God I call upon You as witness and You suffice as witness, so bear witness for me that [I believe] that You are my Lord and Muḥammad, Your Apostle, is my Prophet, and that the testamentary legatees after him are my leaders (Imams), that the creed You legislate is my creed, that the book You sent down to Muḥammad, Your Apostle, is my light.

O God I call upon You as witness and You suffice as witness, so bear witness for me that [I believe] that You are my benefactor and none else is, the praise is Yours and through Your blessings are good deeds accomplished.

There is no deity except God, God is the greatest, praise be to God, we glorify His praise, blessed indeed and exalted is God. There is no power or strength except with God, the Supreme and Great. There is no refuge or sanctuary from God except towards Him [I repeat it as much as] as much as the number of the Even and the Odd, and the number of my Lord's pure, complete and blessed words. God has said the truth and the Apostles have said the truth."

Then after mentioning the merits of this prayer he said that after seeing the bounties God gives a believer in the hereafter, he will say:

Praise be to God [I repeat it as much as] the number of what His knowledge reckons, like what His knowledge reckons, the fill of what His knowledge reckons and as much as what His knowledge reckons.

There is no deity except God, [I repeat it as much as] the number of what His knowledge reckons, like what His knowledge reckons, the fill of what His knowledge reckons and many times as much as what His knowledge reckons.

God is greatest [I repeat it as much as] the number of what His knowledge reckons, like what His knowledge reckons, the fill of what His knowledge reckons and many times as much as what His knowledge reckons.

Glory be to God [I repeat it as much as] the number of what His knowledge reckons, like what His knowledge reckons, the fill of what His knowledge reckons and many times as much as what His knowledge reckons.'

When he says this, the number of his houses and what is in them is added two fold. God is All-bounteous, All-knowing."

Imam Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī

10. Imam Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (ʿa) clung to the Corner and said: My God, You have bestowed favors on me but did not find me grateful, You have tested me but did not find me patient, but neither did You withdraw the favors because of the lack of gratitude, nor did you cause distress to continue because of lack of patience. My God, nothing comes from the Munificent except generosity.

Imam Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, chief of the Martyrs

11. Shaykh Ṭūsī relates that Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn has related from Ḥakam ibn Miskān, from Ayyūb ibn Aʿyun, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: A woman was going round the Kaʿbah and a man was behind her. She exposed her forearm and the man quickly placed his hand on her forearm and God caused it to stick to her forearm which forced him to cut short his circumambulation. They were sent to the governor and the people gathered. The governor sent for the jurists [to ask for their opinion]. They said, "Cut off his hand because he was the criminal."

The governor said, "Is there anyone from the descendants of the Apostle of God (ṣ) around?"

The people answered, "Yes, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ʿa) has arrived this night."

So he sent for him and [when he came] he said, "Look at what these two people have brought on us."

He faced the direction of the qiblah and raised up his hands and prayed for a long time, then he came to the woman and detached the man's hand from hers. The governor said, "Shall we not punish him for what he has done?"

He replied, "No."

In *Kashf al-Ghummah* the story is mentioned briefly and this miracle is ascribed to Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (ʿa).

12. Al-Kulaynī relates from Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Faḍḍāl, from Ibn Bukayr, from Zurārah who said: I asked Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) if he had met Ḥusayn (ʿa), and he replied: Yes, I remember [one day] I was with him in the Sacred Mosque when it was flooded and the people were standing on the Station. Some people would come out and say the flood has taken it away, while others would say it was there in its place. Then he said, "What have these people done?"

I answered him, "May God make you prosper! They fear that the flood might have washed away the Station."

He said, "Announce that God has made it a sign and the flood cannot carry it away."

So [I did, and] the people became reassured…

A similar narration is found in *al-Faqīh*.

13. In *al-Manāqib*, Ibn Shahr'āshūb quotes *ʿUyūn al-Majālis* concerning the noble traits of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ʿa), saying that he was going with Anas ibn Mālik, and they passed by the grave of Khadījah and he wept and said (to Anas), "Leave me alone."

Anas said: Then I concealed myself from him [and kept watching him or listening to him.] When he stood long in his prayer I heard him say:

O Lord! O Lord! You are my Guardian, so show mercy to Your inconsequential servant whose refuge is You;
O Lord of Glory, on You I depend, blessed is he for whom You are Guardian!
Blessed is he who is fearful [of You] and sleepless, whining before the Lord of Majesty because of his distress;
But he suffers from neither malady nor disease other than the effect of his love for his Guardian;
When he complains of grief and sorrow God answers him and then responds to him;
When, at night, he supplicates earnestly, God honors him and brings him close.

Then he (Ḥusayn) was called upon in these words:

Answering you, answering you, you are under My protection, whatever you say We know it;
My angels yearn for your voice, you have a voice which We have heard;
Your plea is with Me, moving around behind the screens, be satisfied that We have removed the Veil;
Should the wind blow by its sides it would fall down on account of what would cover it;
Ask Me with [no need of intense] desire or apprehension, and without limit, for verily I am God.

After mentioning these poetic verses in *Biḥār al-Anwār*, ʿAllāmah al-Majlisī remarks that the pronoun *it* in *Should the wind blow by its sides* could refer

to the Imam's plea: *it* will be an allusion to its reaching those lofty regions, which would engulf a man in the lights of Glory. It may also refer to Imam Ḥusayn's total engrossment in devotion such that, if the wind blows, it would have made him collapse.

Al-Ṭurayḥī has mentioned this narration in *Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn* under the entry *malmal* and he ascribed it to Imam ʿAlī ibn al Ḥusayn, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (ʿa). He said: One night he was holding onto the curtains of the Kaʿbah and squirming in great distress…

The famous lengthy supplication of Imam Ḥusayn (ʿa) which he recited at ʿArafāt is a compendium of lofty spiritual truths that imparts deep knowledge of God, the Exalted, and guidance for attaining the position of real servitude to Him. Some scholars have written numerous commentaries on it.

Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn

14. Shaykh al-Ṭūsī has related from Mūsā ibn Qāsim, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from ʿĀṣim ibn Ḥumayd, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: Whenever ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ʿa) came to the Ḥijr, before reaching the roof spout of the Kaʿbah, he would raise his head up and say: O God, admit me into Paradise by Your grace, heal me of sickness, give me lawful provisions in abundance and repel from me the evil of the wicked ones among jinn and among men, and the evil of the wicked among Arabs and non-Arabs.

15. Al-Kulaynī relates: A number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd, from Muḥammad ibn Sinān, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Maskān, from Ayyūb brother of Adīm, from the Shaykh who said: My father told me that when *the Imam* faces the roof spout he supplicates: O God, redeem me from the fire, give me lawful provisions in abundance, repel from me the evil of the wicked ones among jinn and among men, and admit me into Paradise by Your grace.

16. Al-ʿAyyāshī relates in his *Tafsīr* in *mursal* fashion that Abān said: Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: When ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ʿa) came to the Multazam, he said: O God I have multitudes of sins and multitudes of mistakes while You have multitudes of mercy and multitudes of forgiveness. O You Who have answered the entreaty of the most detestable of Your creatures when he requested: *Give me respite until the day they will be resurrected*. Answer me and do such and such for me.

17. Shaykh al-Ṣadūq says: Aḥmad ibn Ziyād ibn Jaʿfar al-Hamdānī informed, from Abū'l-Qāsim Jaʿfar ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī al-Riqqī al-ʿArīdī, from Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAqīqī from Abū-Naʿim al-Anṣārī al-

Zaydī who said—in a long narration about the Imam of the Age (ʿa)—ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn, Lord of the Devotees used to say in his prostrations in this place (and he pointed to the Ḥijr towards the roof spout): Your small servant at Your court, Your destitute one at Your door, Your indigent one at Your door, I request from You what other than You cannot do.

18. Shaykh al-Ṣadūq narrates: Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Astrābādī informs us, from ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sayyār, from Abū-Yaḥyā Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Minqarī, from Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah who said: Al-Zuhrī was asked who the most ascetic of all people is.

He replied: ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ʿa) is. The reason why I say this is that there was a disagreement between him and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah (half brother to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn) concerning the endowments of ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) and the people suggested to him, "If you will call on Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Mālik just once, it would remove his evil intention and his aversion to you in favor of Muḥammad, for certainly there is friendship between them."

At that time, he and Walīd were both in Makkah. He said, "Woe to you! Should I ask for a favor from someone other than God, the Mighty and Sublime, while I am in his sanctuary? Indeed I am disdainful to request for the world from its Creator, how can I request for it from a fellow creature?"

Certainly, God the Mighty and Sublime cast awe in Walīd's heart for him, and he gave the decision in his favor against Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.

19. In another narration, Shaykh al-Ṣadūq says: ʿAbdullāh ibn al-Naḍr ibn Samʿān al-Taymī, from Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Makkī, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr al-Aṭrash al-Ḥarrānī, from Ṣāliḥ ibn Ziyād Abū-Shuʿayb al-Sūsī, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Maymūn al-Sukkarī, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Muʿizz al-ʿAwdī, from ʿImrān ibn Sulaym, from Suwayd ibn Ghaflah, from Ṭāwūs al-Yamānī who said: I passed by the Ḥijr and suddenly I saw a man bowing and prostrating. When I gazed at him I realized that he was ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ʿa) and I said to myself, "This is a pious man from the Household of the Prophet (ṣ). By God, I will avail myself of his supplications."

I kept on observing him until he completed his prayer. Then he raised his hands palms upwards and prayed: My Lord! My Lord! My hands are raised toward You full of sins and my eyes are wide open in hope. It behooves he who calls You, repentant and humble, to receive Your answer out of Your generosity and grace. My Lord, did You create me among the wretched to

make long my weeping, or among the felicitous to make me glad with hope? My Lord, did You create my limbs to be shackled and my entrails to drink the putrid water? My Lord, if a servant was able to run away from his Master, I would have been the first to run away from You. However, I know that I cannot escape You. My Lord! If my chastisement would increase Your dominion I would have prayed that You be patient without it, but I know that the obedience of the obedient does not add anything to Your dominion and the disobedience of the disobedient does not reduce anything thereof. My Lord! How inconsequential I am! Overlook my sins by Your grace, cover me with Your screen and pardon my action that deserves censure. My God and Master! Have mercy on me when I have fallen on my bed [because of sickness] and turned in bed by my loved ones. Have mercy on me when my dead body is placed on the washing table and the pious of my neighbors are washing it; have mercy on me as I am carried in my coffin when my relatives hold its sides; and have mercy on me with regard to my forlornness, dreariness in that dark house.

[On hearing this] I wept so intensely that my sobs became loud, so he turned to me and said, "O man of Yemen, what makes you weep? Is this not the sinners' station for [repenting]?"

I replied, "My dearest Imam, it behooves God not to reject you while your grandfather was Muḥammad (ṣ)."

Then a group of his disciples came. He turned toward them and admonished them saying, "O my companions! I advise you to [take proper care with regard to] the hereafter. I am not asking you to seek the world because you have already been advised on that, you crave it and are holding fast to it. My companions! Know that the world is the house of passage and not the house of abode, so take [provisions] from your passage to your abode. Do not tear away your screens in the presence of Him from Whom your secrets are not hidden. Take your hearts out of this world before your bodies are taken out of it. Did you not see and hear those things by which the nations and generations before you were imperceptibly drawn into ruin? Do you not see how their concealed secrets were exposed and humiliation was rained on them by changing their circumstances; after a life of ease and prosperity they became victims of [divine] afflictions and punishments? This is my advice and I seek God's forgiveness for you and me."

20. Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs writes: Among the supplications of the first [three] nights of Rajab which we relate from a number of paths, among which is that of Abū'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd who said: Muḥammad

ibn Ghālib al-Anṣārī informed us from ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Tatarī, from Aḥmad ibn Abī-Bishr, from Abū-Ḥamzah al-Thamālī who said: I heard ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ʿa) supplicating in the Ḥijr in the beginning of Rajab in the year of encounter with Ibn Zubayr. I listened to him and heard him saying: O He Who possesses [the source of granting] the needs of supplicants and knows the minds of the silent. For every request You have a prepared hearing and a ready response. O God! By Your true promises, Your gracious assistance and Your bountiful mercy, I beseech You to bless Muḥammad and his Household and provide my needs in this world and the next, for You are powerful over all things.

And he said the rest in whispers so I did not know what he said.

21. Ibn Shahr'āshūb relates in *al-Manāqib* that al-Aṣmaʿī said: I was going round the Kaʿbah one night when I saw a handsome youth with his hair made into two strands clinging to the curtains of the Kaʿbah and saying: Eyes have fallen asleep and stars have risen high and You are the Living and Everlasting King. [Worldly] kings have locked their doors and their guards are standing sentinel over them, but Your door is open for the supplicants. I have come to You so that You may look at me with the eye of Your grace, O Most Gracious of all gracious ones!

Then he recited this poem:

O He Who answers the call of the one forced by need in darkness, O dispeller of affliction, tribulations and disease;
Your visitors have gone to sleep around the House, all of them, You Alone, O Eternal One, do not sleep;
I call You with a call which You have commanded, so take pity on my weeping for the sake of the House and the Sanctuary;
If Your forgiveness is not hoped for by those who commit excesses, who will shower blessings on the sinners?

When I followed him to see who he was I found he was Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.

22. Al-Kulaynī relates: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Muḥammad ibn Abī-Ḥamzah, from his father who said: I saw ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ʿa) one night in the courtyard of the Kaʿbah praying. He stood for so long that sometimes he would stand on his right leg and sometimes on his left. Then I heard him say, in a voice as if he was weeping: O my Lord, will Your chastise me while Your love is in my heart? I swear by Your might that if You do so then You will have made me join a group of people to whom I have long been hostile for Your sake.

23. Thābit al-Banānī says: I travelled with a group of devout men of al-Baṣrah such as Ayyūb al-Sajistānī, Ṣāliḥ al-Marwī, ʿUtbah al-Ghulām, Ḥabīb al-Fārisī, and Mālik ibn Dīnār. When we arrived in Makkah we found that there was scarcity of water and the people were suffering from serious thirst because of the scantiness of rainfall. The people of Makkah rushed to us and the pilgrims requested us to pray for rain. We went to the Kaʿbah, circumambulated it a number of times, and then supplicated to God meekly and humbly but He did not answer our prayers. Then we saw a youth coming, whose mien revealed that grief and anxiety had weighed him down. He circumambulated the Kaʿbah a number of times and turned to us.

He called us, "O Mālik ibn Dīnār! O Thābit al-Banānī! O Ayyūb al-Sajistānī! O Ṣāliḥ al-Marwī! O ʿUtbah al-Ghulām! O Ḥabīb al-Fārisī! O Saʿd! O ʿUmar! O Ṣāliḥ al-Aʿmā! O Rabīʿah! O Jaʿfar ibn Sulaymān!

Then we answered, "We respond to you and we are at your service!"

He asked, "Is there no one among you who the All-Merciful loves?"

We said, "Young man, our part is to supplicate and it is for Him to respond."

He said, "Go away from the Kaʿbah. If there was one person among you who the All-Merciful loved He would have answered his prayers."

Then he moved to the Kaʿbah and fell down in prostration, in which I heard him saying, "O my Lord! [I plead to You] by Your love for me, give them rain."

He hardly completed his speech before it started raining very heavily.

I said, "O young man, how did you know that He loves you?"

He said, "If He did not love He would not have desired that I should visit, and since He has desired, so I knew that He loves me, so I entreated Him, for the sake of His love for me, and He answered me."

Then he left where we were reciting:

He who knows the Lord but his knowledge of Him is not enough, he is the wretched one;
It never harms, that which is suffered and that which is endured in the course of obeying God;
What can a servant achieve without piety while all honor is reserved for the pious.

I asked who the young man was and the people said, ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, peace be upon them.

24. In *Aʿlām al-Dīn*, al-Daylamī relates in *mursal* fashion that Ṭāwūs al-Yamānī said: I saw a man at night, holding to the curtains of the Kaʿbah and saying:

O the One whose help is hoped for in every need, I complain of my affliction to You, so listen to my complaint;
O my Hope, You are the dispeller of my anxiety, so overlook all my sins and fulfill my request;
My provision is scanty and it cannot suffice my journey, am I to weep because of my provision or because of the long distance?
My deeds are repugnant and mean, no creature has committed the like of my crime;
Will You burn me in the Fire, O Last of hopes? Where then are my hopes in You and my fears?

When I scrutinized him I found that he was ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ʿa). I said to him, "O son of the Apostle of God, why all this anxiety while you are the son of the Apostle of God (ṣ) and you have four things in your favor: God's grace, your grandfather's intercession, your being his son and your being a child!?"

He said, "O Ṭāwūs, I read the Book of God, but I saw nothing of that for me. God Most High says: *And they do not intercede except for someone He approves of and they are apprehensive due to fear of Him*.

As for my being the son of the Apostle of God, God is saying: *And when the Trumpet is blown there will be no ties between them on that day, nor will they ask [about] each other. Then those whose deeds weigh heavy in the scales–it is they who are felicitous. As for those whose deeds weigh light in the scales, they will be the ones who have ruined their souls, [and] they will remain in hell forever.*

As for my being a child, I have noticed that large pieces of wood do not kindle unless with the help of small pieces."

Then he wept until he became unconscious.

25. In the brief biography of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, some copies of *Wafiyyāt al-Aʿyān* say: Ḥasan was narrating something during the pilgrimage when ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn passed by and said to him, "O Shaykh, will you like death for yourself?"

He replied, "No."

"Is there any other sanctuary for you in God's earth apart from this?" He

asked him.

“No,” Ḥasan replied.

“Is there any other place for work apart from this [i.e. the world]?” He asked.

“No,” Ḥasan replied.

“Is your action done for the [Day of] Recompense?” He asked.

“No,” Ḥasan replied.

“So why do you distract people from the circumambulation of the House?”

Ḥasan did not narrate again after that.

26. In *al-Kharā'ij wa'l-Jarā'iḥ*, it is related that Abū-Khālid al-Kābulī said: Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah called me after the killing of al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) and the return of ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) to al-Madīnah, while we were in Makkah. He said, “Go to ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) and tell him that [since] I am the eldest son of the Commander of the Faithful after my brothers Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, I am more entitled to the leadership than him, so he is supposed to relinquish it in my favor. If he likes he may chose an arbitrator whose judgment we shall seek.”

So I went and presented the message. He said, “Go back to him and repeat my reply: O Uncle, fear God and do not claim what God did not assign for you. If you insist, let us take the Black Stone as our arbitrator, for whichever of us it testifies, he is the leader (Imam).”

I returned to him with this reply and he accepted. Then the two men went to the mosque, and I accompanied them until they reached the Black Stone. ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) said, “O Uncle, be the first because you are older. Ask it to testify to you.”

Muḥammad went forward, prayed two cycles of prayer, made some supplications, and then asked the Black Stone to testify if the leadership was his right, but it did not give any answer. Then ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) stood up and offered two cycles of prayer and said, “O Stone, which God has assigned as a witness for His servants who come as pilgrims, that they have discharged their duties toward His House! If you know that I am the leader (lit. possessor of this affair) and the Imam to whom obedience is mandatory for all God’s servants, testify for me so that my uncle will know that he has no right in the leadership (*Imamate*).”

Then God gave the Stone the power of speech and it spoke in eloquent Arabic, saying, “O Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī! Submit to ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn in

this affair, because he is the Imam whom you are supposed to obey as a matter of obligation, and neither you nor any other creatures of God have this right."

[On hearing this testimony], Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah kissed his knee and said, "The affair is yours."

Some reports say that Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah did all this in order to clear the doubts of the people concerning this matter.

In another report, it is said: God gave the stone the power of speech and it said, "O Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī! Certainly, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn is the truth about which there is no doubt—by virtue of his religion and piety—and the proof of God on you and on all those in the earth and those in the heavens. Obedience to him is obligatory, so listen to him and obey."

Then Muḥammad said, "We listen! We listen! O God's Proof on His earth and His heaven!"

27. *Kashf al-Ghummah* quoting al-Ḥimyarī's *Dalā'il*: Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) said: When al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ʿa) was martyred, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah went to ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) and said to him, "O my nephew, I am your uncle, your father's brother, and I am older than you. Therefore I am more entitled to the leadership and the testamentary legacy (*wiṣāyah*); so, turn over the Apostle of God's arms to me."

ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) said, "O Uncle, fear God and do not claim what is not yours, for I fear for you short life and disruption of your affairs."

Ibn Ḥanafiyyah said, "I am more entitled to the affair than you."

ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) said, "O Uncle, will you agree to an arbitrator whose judgment we shall seek?"

He said, "Who is that?"

He said, "The Black Stone."

They appealed for its decision. When they stood before it, [ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa)] said, "O Uncle, speak since you are the claimant."

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah spoke but the Stone did not answer him. Then ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn came forward and placed his hand on it and said, "O God I implore You by Your name which is written in the pavilion of Splendor, I implore You by Your name which is written in the pavilion of Magnificence, I implore You by Your name which is written in the pavilion of Strength, I implore You by Your name which is written in the pavilion of

Majesty, I implore You by Your name which is written in the pavilion of Authority, I implore You by Your name which is written in the pavilion of Secrets, I implore You by Your name which is written in the pavilion of Glory, I implore You by Your Pre-Eminent, Aware and Seeing, Lord of the Eight Angels, Lord of Gabriel, Michael and Seraph and Lord of Muḥammad, Seal of the Prophets, [I implore You] to give this stone the power to speak in eloquent Arabic and tell us who has the office of leadership and the testamentary legacy after al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī."

Then he faced the Stone and addressed it, "I ask you, by He Who placed in you the covenants of servants and the testimony for those who have come to you, to tell us who has the office of leadership and the testamentary legacy after al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī."

Then the Stone convulsed and almost fell from its place and then spoke in eloquent Arabic, saying, "O Muḥammad! Submit, submit. Certainly the leadership and the testamentary legacy after al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī are for ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn."

Then Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah changed his mind and said, "May my father be ʿAlī's ransom."

28. *Al-Kharā'ij wa'l-Jarā'iḥ*: When al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf demolished the Kaʿbah as a result of the battle he fought against ʿAbdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, they rebuilt it and tried to restore the Black Stone to its position without success. Whenever a scholar, judge or ascetic from among them, put it back in its place it quivered and fell off. Then ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) came and took it from them, invoked God's name and fixed it and it stayed in its place. And the people chanted *takbīr*.

Al-Farazdaq was inspired when he composed:

Because it recognized him, the corner of the wreck almost held his palm when he came to touch it.

29. Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs writes in *Iqbāl al-A'māl*: We relate this through our chain of transmission from my grandfather Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī who said: ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) went on ʿumrah in Rajab. He prayed and prostrated in the Kaʿbah all night and day, and in his prostrations he was heard saying: The sin from Your servant is great so let the pardon from Your side be handsome.

He did not add anything to this for the duration of his stay.

30. Many sources mention that Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik went on

pilgrimage during the time of his father. He circumambulated the House and did his best to touch the Black Stone, but because of intense congestion of pilgrims he could not, so a chair was prepared for him on which he sat and looked on. Some prominent men of Syria were with him. After a while Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa) came. He circumambulated the House and when he approached the Black Stone, people made way for him and he touched it. A man from among the Syrians said to Hishām, "Who is this man whom the people hold in such awe?"

Hishām replied, "I do not know him," for fear that the Syrians should take a liking in him. Al-Farazdaq who was present there said, "I know him," and recited the following verses concerning him:

This is the one whose tread al-Baṭḥā' knows well, the House knows him, so does the Sanctuary and the non-sacred area;
This is the son of the best of all God's servants, this is the pious, immaculate and pure one, the chief;
This is the son of Fāṭimah, if you are ignorant of him, with his Grandfather the sequence of God's prophets was sealed;
Your saying, 'I don't know him' harms him naught, for Arabs and non-Arabs know him, if you feign ignorance;
His hands personify succor: universal is their generosity, charity is sought from them, lack afflicts them not;
Benign in nature, no severity is feared of him, two characteristics adorn him: handsomeness and beautiful disposition;
Bearer of people's cares when they are overburdened, of pleasant demeanor, to whom saying 'yes' is palatable;
He never said 'no' except in his tashahhud, but for tashahhud, his 'no' would have been 'yes';
He has covered all creation with generosity, so their gloom, poverty and privations have disappeared;
When the Quraysh see him they say: the noble qualities of this man are the peak of magnanimity;
In modesty, his eyes are cast down and before him eyes are cast down out of awe, he is not spoken to except when he smiles;
In his palm is a fragrant cane, a most godly palm and a dignified forehead;
Because it recognized him, the Corner of the Ka'bah almost held his palm when he came to touch it;
God honored and distinguished him since ancient times, His Pen has recorded this in His Tablet;
Which people are not indebted on account of the favors to the ancestors of

this man or due to him?
Whoever thanks God must also thank the predecessors of this man, for nations attain religion from his House;
To him is attributed the peak of religion, a position which others could not attain with hands or feet;
To whose Grandfather other Prophets are indebted for his favors, and to his nation, other nations, for its favor;
Derived from the Apostle of God is his pure root and origin, as well as his noble qualities and natural disposition;
The cloak of gloom is severed by the light of his countenance as darkness vanishes with the rising of the sun;
From a people, devotion to whom is belief and hatred to whom is unbelief, and proximity to whom is deliverance and protection;
After the mention of God, the mention of them is premier in every beginning and with it are speeches closed;
If the pious are counted they are their leaders, and if it is asked who the best on earth are, it is said, 'They';
No liberal person can stand out after their acts of generosity, nor can anybody match them even if he was munificent;
They are the succor whenever a crisis rears its head, and lions, forefront lions, in the heat of battle;
Straits do not reduce their open-handedness, it is constant whether they are rich or they suffer privation;
Evil and tribulation are repelled by devotion to them and, by it, is the increase in goodness and blessings sought.

Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī relates the above in *al-Aghānī*: ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Hāshimī informed us, from Ḥayyān ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAnzī, from Mujāhid, from al-Shiʿbī who said: Al-Farazdaq went to perform ḥajj during his old age, when he was almost seventy years old and Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik had also gone on pilgrimage the same year as al-Farazdaq. Hishām saw ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn in the mass of people doing the circumambulation and said, "Who is that young man with a forehead shining as though it was a Chinese mirror showing a bearded face?"

They said, "This is ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, God's blessing be on them."

Then al-Farazdaq recited the verses mentioned above.

Al-Iṣfahānī mentioned those verses, except seven of them, i.e. the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 25th and 26th. Then he added: Aḥmad ibn al-Jaʿd also told me this

story, relating from Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim al-Barātī, from Isḥāq ibn Muḥammad al-Nakhaʿī, who said that Hishām went for ḥajj during the lifetime of his father and saw ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ʿa) circumambulating the House and the people were making way for him. Hishām asked who the man was and al-Abrash al-Kalbī said, "I do not know him." Al-Farazdaq said, "But I know him." Hishām said, "Who is he?" He replied, "This is the one whose tread al-Baṭḥā' knows well…" to the end of the verses.

So Hishām imprisoned him in a place between Makkah and al-Madīnah. In his confinement al-Farazdaq composed:

Will you incarcerate me between al-Madīnah and that which the hearts of people (the repentant among them) are fond of (i.e. Makkah)?
He turns a head which is not the head of a chief, and an eye of his, a squinted one of evident blemish.

Hishām heard these verses and ordered for his release.

Elsewhere, al-Iṣfahānī writes: The verses with which al-Farazdaq praised ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn and described his position in them have been narrated to me by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jaʿd and Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā. Both said that Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Ghallābī, from Ibn ʿĀ'ishah related the incident to them.

Opinions differ as to the identity of the composer of this poem. Some people say that Dāwūd ibn Salam composed the verses in praise of Qutham ibn al-ʿAbbās and others ascribe them to Khālid ibn Yazīd and that he addressed Qutham, in which case the poem consists of the following verses:

How many a caller comes unto you, man or woman, in expectation, anticipating your favors, O Qutham, O Qutham!
Which clan is not indebted on account of the favors to the ancestors of this man or due to him?
In his palm is a fragrant cane, a most godly palm and a dignified forehead;
In modesty, his eyes are cast down and from him eyes are cast down out of awe, he is not spoken to except when he smiles.

Among the people who narrate this to us is al-Ṣawlī who related it from al-Ghallābī, from Mahdī ibn Sābiq who said that Dāwūd ibn Salam was the composer of the above four verses (except the first one) as part of his composition in praise of ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa).

Al-Rayyāshī relates from al-Aṣmaʿī that an Arab called Dāwūd addressed Qutham in these words:

Because it recognizes him, the Corner of the Wreck almost held his palm when he came to touch it;
How many a caller comes unto you, man or woman, in expectation, anticipating your favors, O Qutham, O Qutham!

And he gave him a handsome present. However, the truth is that these verses were composed by ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbd al-Malik. Ibn ʿĀ'ishah erroneously inserted these two verses within those ones.

Abū-Naʿīm al-Iṣfahānī also relates the same incident from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sinān, from Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Thaqafī, from Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā, from Ibn ʿĀ'ishah, from his father.

From *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, *al-Aghānī* and other sources, Ibn Shahr'āshūb has quoted the story and the poem with all its verses except one and he added other verses apart from those ones. He says: Then Hishām became angry and cut off al-Farazdaq's grant, and said, "Will you compose a similar poem in our praise?"

Al-Farazdaq said, "Bring a grandfather like his, a father like his, a mother like his and I will do so."

Then he imprisoned him at ʿAsfān between Makkah and al-Madīnah. When ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ʿa) heard of this he sent twelve thousand dirhams to al-Farazdaq and said, "Bear with us O Abū-Firās, if we had more than this presently, we would have given it to you."

But he returned the gift and said, "O son of the Apostle of God, I did not compose the poem except to express indignation for the sake of God and His Apostle, and I would not lose anything [of His reward by taking a gift]."

However he returned the money to al-Farazdaq and remarked, "For the sake of the right I have over you, take it, for God has seen the stand you took and knows your intention." So, he accepted the present.

Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah al-Shāfiʿī writes in *Maṭālib al-Sa'ūl* where he mentioned Imam al-Ḥusayn's movement from Makkah to Iraq: When he reached al-Shaqūq he met al-Farazdaq the poet. Al-Farazdaq greeted him, came close and kissed his hand. Al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ʿa) asked him, "From where are you, O Abū-Firās?"

He said, "From al-Kūfah."

He asked, "How were the people of al-Kūfah when you left them (i.e. what was the state of affairs)?"

"Their hearts are with you but their swords are with the Umayyads and the devout are now few. Divine decree descends from heaven and God does what He wants to His creatures."

Then al-Farazdaq bid him farewell as he moved on to al-Kūfah with his companions. Al-Farazdaq's cousin from the Banū-Mujāshiʿ said to him, "O Abū-Firās, this is al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī."

Al-Farazdaq said, "Yes, this is al-Ḥusayn son of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah al-Zahrā', daughter of the Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā, peace and blessing of God be upon him and upon all of them. By God this is the son of the chosen one of God and the best of all who walk the earth. I have composed some verses about him before, not for his gifts but seeking God's pleasure and the rewards of the Last Day."

His cousin said, "Let me hear them, O Abū-Firās, if you please."

He said, "I have composed for him, his mother, father and grandfather," and he recited the poem in nineteen verses, most of which correspond to the poem under discussion, while some are not found in it.

Writing elsewhere in *Maṭālib al-Sa'ūl* about the merits of Imam ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa), Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah has related the same incident.

In *Kashf al-Ghummah*, al-Arbalī has supported Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah's view in the two issues, quoted his words verbatim and then commented: I think he quoted this remark and the poem from Ibn Aʿtham's *al-Futūḥ* because I have read the book when I was young. He ascribed this poem to al-Farazdaq and said that he composed it in praise of ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) but the view of the narrators, although they have differed much with regard to some of its verses, is that al-Ḥurr ibn al-Laythī was the one who composed it praising Qutham ibn ʿAbbās and that al-Farazdaq only recited it in connection with ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa). We shall mention this later among the stories about him, God willing. If this issue and the like were the subject of this book I would have mentioned the poem and ascribed each verse of it to its origin but this is not the purpose of this book.

Dr. Jaʿfar al-Shahīdī has done some research concerning this poem, which he recorded in his Persian work *Zendegiye Emam ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn* (The Life of Imam ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn).

Imam Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Bāqir

31. Al-Kulaynī relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ḥammād ibn ʿĪsā, from Ḥarīz, from Yāsīn who said: I heard Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) saying: A

group of people were travelling from Egypt [for ḥajj] and one of them died on the way. Before he died, he made a will that one thousand dirhams should be taken to the Kaʿbah. When the executor of the will reached Makkah he enquired [as to whom the money should be turned over] and told him to meet the Banū-Shaybah (the clan which held the office of *sadānah*, that is, service to the Kaʿbah). He met them and told his story and they said, "Give it to us, you have discharged your obligation," and he did so. Then he went away and asked to be shown Abū-Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī (ʿa). Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) said: He came and asked me [about the matter] and I said to him: The Kaʿbah does not need it. Look for pilgrims whose provisions have finished or who have lost their riding animals or who are unable to return home and give them the money.

So the man went back to Banū-Shaybah and told them what Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) had said and they said, "That man has gone astray and is an innovator. His opinion is not acceptable because he has no knowledge. We adjure you for the sake of such and such to tell him what we have said."

The man said: Then I went to Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) and said, "I have met Banū-Shaybah and told them what you have said, but they claimed that you are such and such and that you have no knowledge. Then they adjured me to tell you what they had said."

He said, "I am also adjuring you as they did, to go and tell them that part of my knowledge is that if I had been given the authority over the affairs of the Muslims I would have cut off their hands and hanged them (the hands) on the curtains of the Kaʿbah. Then I would have made them sit on benches and ordered a caller to inform the people that these are thieves who rob God and they should be known for what they are."

Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām and *'Ilal al-Sharā'i'* record similar narrations.

32. In *al-Mukhallāt,* it is related that while circumambulating, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī (ʿa) saw a Bedouin wearing worn out clothes and standing near the House doing nothing. Then he went nearer the curtains, clung to them, raised his head heavenward and said:

Is it not disconcerting to You that I should stand beseeching You, O Lord, while You are all-Knowing?;
If You clothe me, O Lord, with a shirt and a fur cloak I will always offer prayers and fast;
But should it be otherwise, as You see me, who will blame me for leaving the prayer?

Will you favor the children of the uncouth people but disregard an old man whose parents are Tamīm?

Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī (ʿa) called him and gave him a shirt, a fur cloak, a turban, ten thousand dirhams and a horse. The following year the man went for ḥajj wearing beautiful garments and evincing a condition of ease. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī (ʿa) said to him, "O Bedouin! I saw in you bad condition last year and this year you look handsome and rich."

He said, "I blamed a Generous One and became rich (i.e. He enriched me)."

33. Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Ṭalḥah al-Shāfiʿī relates a *mursal* narration, saying that Aflaḥ, client of Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) said: I travelled with Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī (ʿa) for the pilgrimage, and when we entered the Mosque he looked at the House and wept in high sobs. I said to him, "May my father and mother be your ransom! People are looking at you! Will you not lower your voice a little?"

He replied, "O Aflaḥ, will I not weep? Perhaps, it will please God the Exalted to look upon me with grace, by which I may His felicity tomorrow."

Then he circumambulated the House, and stopped by the Station of Abraham (ʿa) where he offered some prayers. He bowed and prostrated and when he raised his forehead the place he had placed his forehead was wet with his tears.

34. In *al-Durūs*, al-Shahīd al-Awwal writes: Al-Bizanṭī relates from Thaʿlabah, from Muyassar who said: We were in the presence of Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) in a pavilion; we were about fifty men. He asked us, "Do you know what place is the most worthy of veneration in the sight of God?"

No one responded. He gave the answer himself, "It is Sacred Makkah, which God has approved for Himself as a sanctuary and made His House there."

Then he asked, "Do you know which place in Makkah is more sacred?"

No one answered so he said, "It is the Sacred Mosque."

Then he asked, "Do you know which spot in the Sacred Mosque is more venerated in the sight of God?"

No one answered, so he said, "It is the spot between the Corner of the Black [Stone] and the door of the Kaʿbah. That is Ishmael's wreck, where he used to gather his sheep and pray. By God, should a person stand [in complete attention] in this place to pray in the night until daytime, and during the day until night, but does not recognize our right and sanctity, we the Ahl al-Bayt,

God will never accept of him any worship! Certainly, part of what our father Abraham, may God bless him and bless Muḥammad and his family, asked his Lord to grant him was what he said in his prayer: My Lord make the hearts of a part of the people fond of them. However, he did mean all the people, and you and your likes are the intended ones, may God have mercy on you. Certainly among the people, your likes are as rare as a black hair on the skin of a white ox."

35. Whenever Abū-Jaʿfar al-Bāqir (ʿa) passed by the Yemeni Corner during his circumambulations, he would touch it and say: O God, grant me repentance so that I may repent, and protect me so that I may never revert.

36. Ḥabbābah al-Wālibiyyah said: I saw a man one evening in Makkah, standing on some raised place by the Multazam (or between the door and the Ḥijr). He had a silk turban tied to his waist over the loincloth. At that time the setting sun was seen against the hills like turbans on the heads of men. The man was raising his hands and eyes toward the sky and praying. Then the people gathered around him asking him the solutions to some difficult issues; he did not leave his place until he answered them a thousand questions. Then he moved over to his luggage as a caller was calling with a ringing voice: "This is the light, the shining lighted lamp, the fragrant breeze, and the truth that has been lost on the people!"

Others were asking, "Who is this?" and they were replied, "Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Bāqir, the chief of knowledge who speaks out of understanding, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, upon them be peace."

In Abū-Baṣīr's report, he is described as: This is the Splitter (*Bāqir*) of the Apostle's knowledge; this is the expounder of the ways; this is the best of those who had been well kept in the loins of the people of the Ark; this is the son of Fāṭimah, the pure, virgin and luminous one; this is God's vicegerent on His earth; this is [God's] confidant of this time; this is the son of Muḥammad and Khadījah, and ʿAlī and Fāṭimah, upon them all be peace); this is the upright lighthouse of religion.

37. *Al-Kāfī*: ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Sindī, from Ḥammād ibn ʿĪsā, from Ḥusayn ibn Mukhtār, from Abū-ʿUbaydah who said: I accompanied Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) between Makkah and al-Madīnah. When he reached the holy precincts, he took a bath and held his sandals in his hands and walked inside the sanctuary for a while.

Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq

38. *Qurb al-Isnād*: Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq ibn Saʿd, from Bakr ibn Muḥammad

who said: I was going round the Kaʿbah, and I was on the side of Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa). When he finished his circumambulation he offered two cycles of prayer and I heard him saying in his prostration: "My face has prostrated for You in devotion and as a bondsman; there is no deity but You, in truth, in truth; the first before everything, the Last after everything; Here I am in front of You, my forelock in Your hands, so forgive me for I am admitting my wrong-doing against my soul; no one repels the great sin except You."

Then he raised his head, and, as a result of weeping his face was as if it were immersed in water.

39. In *Iqbāl al-Aʿmāl*, Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs writes: We relate the following narration through our chains of narrators that goes back to my grandfather, Abū-Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī. He related it from some men, from Hārūn ibn Mūsā al-Talʿakbarī, from Ibn Humām, from Jamīl, from Qāsim ibn Ismāʿīl, from Aḥmad ibn Riyāḥ, from Abū'l-Faraj Abān ibn Muḥammad, who is known as al-Sindī. We have quoted it from its source who said: Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) was supplicating under the roof spout [of the Kaʿbah], ʿAbdullāh ibn Ḥasan was by his side, Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan by his left and Jaʿfar ibn Ḥasan behind him, when ʿAbbād ibn Kathīr al-Baṣrī came to him and said, "O Abū-ʿAbdullāh!" but he did not answer. ʿAbbād repeated it three times, then he said, "O Jaʿfar," and then he answered him, "Say what do you want, O Abū-Kathīr."

He said, "I read in a book of mine that the [distinguishing mark] of this building shall be is demolished by a man who will remove its stones one after another."

He said to him, "Your book has lied, O Abū-Kathīr. However, [the matter is] as if I am seeing someone with yellow feet, scarred legs, large belly, slender neck and large head on this Corner (and he pointed to the Yemeni Corner) preventing people from doing the circumambulation and terrorizing them. Then God will send against him a man from me (and he pointed to his chest) who will kill him the way ʿĀd, Thamūd and Pharaoh, the owner of the Stakes were killed."

Then ʿAbdullāh ibn Ḥasan said, "By God, Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) has said the truth," and all the people testified to his truthfulness.

40. *Al-Kāfī*: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Muḥammad ibn Fuḍayl, from Rabīʿah ibn Khaytham who said: I saw Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) circumambulating the Kaʿbah

on a litter, as he was very sick. Whenever he reached the Yemeni corner he asked his carriers to put him down. When they did so he would bring out his hand from the aperture of the litter and draw it on the ground then he would ask them to lift him. He did that repeatedly on every leg, so I said to him, "May I be your ransom, O son of the Apostle of God! This action is burdensome to you."

He said, "I have heard the words of God the Mighty and Sublime: *So that they may witness the benefits for them.*"

I asked him, "Benefits of the world or benefits of the hereafter?"

He replied, "Both."

This narration is related *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* also.

41. *Al-Kāfī*: Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ibn Faḍḍāl, from Yūnus ibn Yaʿqūb who said: I saw Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) enter the Kaʿbah. He tried to [stand] between the two pillars but he could not, so he prayed behind the place. Then he went out of the Kaʿbah and moved out of the mosque.

42. *Al-Kāfī*: A number of our companions report from Aḥmad ibn Abū-ʿAbdullāh, from his father, from Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, from Abān ibn Taghlib who said: I accompanied Abū-Jaʿfar between Makkah and al-Madīnah. When he reached the holy precincts, he stopped and took a bath, then he held his sandals in his hands and entered the sanctuary bare footed, and I did as he did. He said: O Abān, whoever does as you saw me do, in humbleness to God, God will erase for him a hundred thousand bad deeds, record for him a hundred thousand good deeds. God the Mighty and Sublime will build for him a hundred thousand storeys, and grant him a hundred thousand requests.

43. Shaykh al-Ṭūsī has related that Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd, from Ṣafwān, from Mujāhid, from Dharīḥ who said: I heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying in prostration in the Kaʿbah: Nothing repels Your wrath except Your clemency, nothing gives protection from Your punishment except Your mercy, no deliverance from You except through humbleness before You. My Lord, grant me relief by the power by which You revive the [Your] dead servants and resurrect the dead country. My God, do not kill me with grief; answer my prayers and show me the signs of acceptance. O God give me well being up to the end of my life. Do not put me in a situation that will give my enemy malicious joy, and do not give him power over my neck. Who can raise me if you debase me? And who can debase me if You raise me? If You kill me who can protest against Your action with regard to Your servant or question You on it? I know, O my God, that there is no injustice in Your

decision, nor is there precipitate action with regard to Your punishment, because only he who fears the fleeing [of his victim] resorts to rashness and only the weak needs to act unjustly, and You are far above this, O my God. My God, so do not make me a target of trials or a target of Your punishment. Give me respite and give my soul respite. Overlook my slips. Do not expose me to one tribulation after another, because You are seeing my weakness and humbleness before You, and my estrangement from mankind and my feeling at ease in Your company. I seek refuge with You today, so give me safety; I seek Your protection, so protect me; I seek Your support in tribulation, so help me; I seek Your help, so help me; I depend on You, so be a sufficient source of dependence for me; I have faith in You, so give me safety; I seek Your guidance, so guide me; I seek Your mercy, so have mercy on me; I ask Your forgiveness for what You know, so forgive me, I seek provisions from Your boundless grace, so provide for me, and there is no power or strength except with God the Lofty and Supreme.

44. *Al-Kāfī*: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd, from Naḍr ibn Suwayd, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Sinān who said: Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) was outside the Kaʿbah and I heard him saying: "God is the greatest, God is the greatest!" He said it thrice and said, "O God do not test us with severe trials, O our Lord! Do not put us in a situation that will give our enemies malicious joy, for You [alone] are the Cause of benefit and harm!"

Then he came down and offered two cycles of prayer by the stairway, standing in such a manner that it was on his left as he faced the Kaʿbah, with no one between him and the Kaʿbah. Then he went to his residence.

45. Zayd al-Narsī relates in his work, *Aṣl Zayd al-Narsī*, that ʿAlī ibn Mazīd Bayyāʿ al-Sābirī said: I saw Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) in the Ḥijr under the roof spout facing the House with his hands raised up and saying: O God, pity my weakness and the paucity of my devices. O God, send down to me Your grace two-fold; pour on me Your abundant provision; ward off from me the evil of the wicked among men and jinn, and the evil of the wicked among Arabs and non-Arabs. O God, make plentiful my provisions, and not meager. O God, show mercy on me and do not chastise me, be pleased with me and do not wrathful toward me, for You are indeed the Hearer of entreaties and You are Near and Responding.

46. Al-Kulaynī relates in *al-Kāfī*: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father and from Ḥumayd ibn Ziyād, from ʿUbaydullāh ibn Aḥmad, both paths from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Zayd al-Narsī, from ʿAlī ibn Farqad, a companion of al-

Sābirī who said: A man commissioned me to execute his will, which was to spend his estate in performing pilgrimage on his behalf, but when I saw the money I realized that it would not suffice for ḥajj. I asked Abū-Ḥanīfah and the jurists of al-Kūfah and they said, "Give the money out as alms."

When I performed ḥajj I met ʿAbdullāh ibn Ḥasan during the circumambulation. I related my concern about the affair to him and asked him, "What is your opinion?"

He replied, "Look there, Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad is in the Ḥijr. Go and ask him."

So I entered the Ḥijr and saw Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) under the roof spout facing the House and supplicating. Then he turned round and saw me. He asked, "What do you want?"

I said, "May I be your ransom, I am from al-Kūfah and one of your partisans."

He said, "Leave that aside. What do you want?"

I related the whole affair to him. "What did you do," he asked.

"I gave it out as alms," I replied.

He said, "You have to repay it unless it does not suffice for performing the pilgrimage from Makkah. If it does not, then you need not repay it, but if it suffices for ḥajj from Makkah, then you have to repay."

Al-Faqīh also relates this story through Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr.

47. Al-Kulaynī relates from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from ʿUmayr ibn Udhaynah who said: I heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying when he reached the back side of the Kaʿbah, as he passed through the Ḥijr: O Munificent, Generous and Magnanimous One, indeed my work is deficient, so multiply it for me and accept it, for You are indeed the Hearer and Knower.

48. Shaykh Ṣadūq relates from his father, from Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn al-Maythamī, from his brothers Muḥammad and Aḥmad, from ʿAlī ibn Yaʿqūb al-Hāshimī, from Marwān ibn Muslim, from Saʿīd ibn ʿUmar al-Juʿfī, from one Egyptian man who said: My brother set aside in his will a pretty and spritely slave-girl of his as a present to the sacred House of God. I went to Makkah and asked [whom to give the present]. Some people told me to give it to the Banū-Shaybah clan and others said something else, thus, there was a difference of

opinion on the matter. Then a man who was in the mosque said, "Shall I show you who will guide you on the right thing to do?"

I replied, "Yes."

He pointed to an old man who was sitting in the mosque and said, "That is Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa). Ask him."

So I went to him and asked him what to do after telling him the whole story. He said, "The Kaʿbah neither eats nor drinks; whatever present is given to it is for its pilgrims. Sell the slave-girl and make an announcement standing on the Ḥijr: Is there anyone whose provision has finished or who [otherwise] needs help? When they come, ask about their condition, and distribute the money among them."

I told him some people had told me to give it to Banū-Shaybah. He said, "Certainly, when our Riser rises he will apprehend them and cut off their hands. He will parade them and say: These are thieves of God['s property]."

49. *Al-Kāfī*: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn, from Naḍr ibn Suwayd, from ʿUmayr ibn Abī'l-Miqdām who said: I saw Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) on the day of ʿArafāt at the standing place, calling at the top of his voice, "O people! Certainly the Apostle of God (ṣ) was the leader (*imam*), then ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, then al-Ḥasan, then al-Ḥusayn, then ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, then Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, peace be upon them, then I, so ask me."

He said it three times in each direction: toward those in front of him, to his right, to his left and to his back, that is twelve times.

50. Another report in *al-Kāfī* reads: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī-Naṣr, from some of our companions, who said that a man asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh in the Sacred Mosque, "Who is the most sinful of men?"

He replied, "He who stands at these two places of standing: ʿArafāt and Muzdalifah, circuits between these two hills, circumambulates the House and offers prayers behind Abraham's Station, but nevertheless supposes that God has not forgiven him; he is the most sinful of men."

51. Al-Kulaynī relates another report from ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, from Faḍl ibn Shādhān, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Ḥafṣ ibn al-Bukhtarī who heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh saying: There is an angel in this place (he said it when he was passing by the Yemeni corner of the Kaʿbah) who is given the faculty to hear what the inhabitants of the earth

say. So, when someone sends blessings to the Apostle of God (ṣ) he will hear them and convey it to him.

52. Another report in *al-Kāfī* reads: From ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī-ʿUmayr, from Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmmār, who reported that when Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) reaches the Multazam he asks his retainers: Draw back from me so that I may confess my sins to my Lord in this place, because whoever confesses his sins to his Lord here and pleads for His forgiveness, God will forgive him.

53. ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥakīm relates that Bashīr al-Nabbāl said: I was on Ṣafā, and Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) was standing on it. When he went down I followed him. Abū'l-Dawānīq approached, riding his camel of noble breed, attended by his bodyguards mounted on horses and camels. They surged towards Abū-ʿAbdullāh, and I, fearing for him, went forward and began to protect him with my person, shielding him with my hands. I said to myself, "My Lord, Your servant, the best of Your creation on earth! And these, worse than dogs, are following him!"

Then he instantly turned to me and called me, "Bashīr!" and I answered him, "At your service!"

He said, "Look up and see."

When I looked up, by God, I saw a shield [that had been sent down] from God which I can hardly describe. He said, "O Bashīr, we have been given what you are seeing, but we have been commanded to persevere, so we persevere."

54. Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī writes: The judge Abū'l-Faraj al-Muʿāfā informed us, from ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Miṣrī, from Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAyyāḍ ibn Abī-Shaybah, from his grandfather ʿAyyāḍ ibn Abī-Shaybah, from ʿAbdullāh ibn Wahab, from Layth ibn Saʿd who said: I made the pilgrimage in the year 113 A.H. I arrived in Makkah, and when I prayed the afternoon prayer, I climbed the Abū-Qubays hill and saw a man sitting down and supplicating. He repeated: "O Lord! O Lord!" continuously in one breath until his breath ended. Then he said, "O my Lord, O my Lord," the same way. Then he said, "O God, O God," the same way. Then he said, "O Living, O Living," the same way. Then he said, "O Merciful, O Merciful," the same way. Then he said, "O Gracious, O Gracious," seven times. Then he said, "O God, I have appetite for those grapes so give them to me. O God, my cloak is worn out, so provide me with another one." By God, he had hardly finished his speech before I saw a

basket full of grapes—and there were no grapes in the land at that time—and two dyed cloaks.

When he was about to eat I said to him, "I have a share in it."

"How?" he asked.

"When you were praying I was saying: Amen," I replied.

So he said, "Come and eat."

So I ate. I had never eaten anything like that before. The grape was seedless. We ate to our fill, but nothing reduced from the basket. Then he offered me one of the cloaks, but I told him that I was not in need of any. Then he asked me to withdraw, so that he may be screened, in order to put on the cloak. I did. He wore one of them as a loincloth and threw the other over his shoulders, and came down the hill holding the ones he wore previously. I followed him until he reached the circuiting area where a man approached him and said, "Clothe me, may God clothe you, O son of the Apostle of God," and he gave the man his old clothes.

Then I followed the man and asked him, "Who is this?"

He replied, "This is Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa)."

Then I looked for him so that I may learn from him, but I could not find him.

55. Al-Kulaynī relates: From a number of our companions, from Sahl ibn Ziyād, from Yaʿqūb ibn Yazīd, from Abū'l-Faraj al-Sindī who said: I was going round the House with Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) when he asked me, "Which part of this is the most sacrosanct?"

I said, "May I be your ransom, you know this better than I do."

But he repeated his question and I said, "Inside the House."

He said, "The Yemeni Corner is on a door among the doors of Paradise. It is open to the Shīʿah of the Household of Muḥammad (ṣ) but closed to the others. No believer will supplicate by it but his supplication will rise up until it attaches itself to the Throne; there is no veil between it and God the Exalted."

Al-Ṭūsī has cited this report of *al-Kāfī* in *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*.

Imam Abū'l-Ḥasan Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar

56. *Qurb al-Isnād* quotes Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā and Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq, both of them say that Saʿdān ibn Muslim said: I saw Abū'l-Ḥasan Mūsā (ʿa) touch the Black Stone. Then he went round the Kaʿbah and after the seventh round

clung to the middle of the House, instead of the place where our companions used to cling to the House. He spread his hands on the Kaʿbah and stayed in that position for a while. Then he moved to the Stone and touched it. Then he prayed behind the Station of Abraham (ʿa) and went to the Stone again and touched it. Then he continued his circumambulation until he reached the Multazam (place of clinging) at the end of the seventh round, then he clung again to the middle of the House and spread his hands. Then he touched the Stone, prayed two units of prayer behind the Station of Abraham (ʿa) and touched the Stone again. Then he continued his circumambulation, and at the end of the seventh round he clung to the middle of the House, touched the Stone, prayed two units behind the Station of Abraham (ʿa) and returned to the Stone and touched the space between it and the door. He remained in that position for a while, then he went to the Ḥijr and offered eight units of prayer. The last place he stayed around the House was under the roof spout where he opened his hands and supplicated for some time. Then he left the House by the door of Ḥannāṭin, and set out until he reached Dhū-Ṭuwā on his way to al-Madīnah.

57. Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs said: Among the narrations about the Greatest Name [of God] is what we narrate through our chains of transmission, from Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār and through our chains of transmission from Ibn Abī-Qurrah, in his book *al-Tahajjud*, where he mentions that the one who used to supplicate with it under the roof spout was our master Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar (ʿa). The present narration is also from Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, which he and Ibn Abī-Qurrah transmitted through Sikkīn ibn ʿAmmār. Ibn ʿAmmār said: I was sleeping in Makkah when someone came to me in a dream and said, "Rise, for under the spout there is a man supplicating to God with His Greatest Name." So I was startled out of my sleep, but fell asleep again. Then he called me again saying what he said before and I woke up but fell asleep again. For the third time he said to me, "Rise. This is *so-and-so*—mentioning the supplicant by name— and he is the Pious Servant. He is under the roof spout calling God with His Greatest name."

Then I rose, took a bath and entered the Ḥijr. I saw a man prostrate with his head covered with his garment. I sat down behind him and I heard him say: "O Light, O Holy One, O Light, O Holy One, O Light, O Holy One; O Living, O Everlasting, O Living, O Everlasting, O Living, O Everlasting; O Living One Who dies not, O Living One Who dies not, O Living One Who dies not; O Living One when there was none alive, O Living One when there was none alive, O Living One when there was none alive; O Living One

there is no deity except You, O Living One there is no deity except You, O Living One there is no deity except You; I entreat You by *there is no deity except You*, I entreat You by *there is no deity except You*, I entreat You by *there is no deity except You* (thrice); I entreat You by Your name, In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful the Supreme and Firm, I entreat You by Your name, In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful, the Supreme and Firm, I entreat You by Your name, In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful the Supreme and Firm (thrice)."

He continued repeating these words until I memorized them. The he raised his head and turned around. He saw that it was dawn. He went to the back side of the Kaʿbah, which is called al-Mustajār, and prayed the dawn prayers and left.

58. In *al-Kāfī* it is related from Abū-ʿAlī al-Ashʿarī, from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥajjāj who said: A child was born to Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa) at Minā and, on the day of sacrifice after we had shaved, he sent us some sweetmeats seasoned with saffron. I ate some of it, while al-Kāhilī and Murāzim refused to eat, saying that they had not yet visited the House. Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa) heard our talk so he asked Muṣādif, the man who had brought us the sweetmeat, "What were they talking about?"

He said, "'Abd al-Raḥmān ate, but the other two refused to eat, saying that they had not visited the House."

He said, "'Abd al-Raḥmān has acted correctly. Does he not remember? When we were brought some sweetmeats on a day like today, I ate some and my brother Abū-ʿAbdullāh refused to eat. When my father came, he complained against me, saying, 'Father, Mūsā has eaten a sweetmeat which has saffron, although he has not visited the House yet,' and our father said, 'He knows more than you. Have you not shaved your heads?'"

59. *Al-Kāfī* relates from ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, from Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī-Ḥammād, from Aḥmad ibn Jahm al-Khazzāz, from Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Yazīd, from a companion of his who said: I was behind Abū'l-Ḥasan Mūsā (ʿa) on Ṣafā (and on Marwah as well). He did not recite more than two phrases of supplication: O God, I beseech You to grant me thinking well of You in all situations, and truthfulness of purpose in relying on You.

Imam ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā

60. Ḥamzah ibn Jaʿfar al-ʿArjānī relates that one day Hārūn, the ʿAbbāsid ruler, went out of the Sacred Mosque from one door and al-Riḍā (ʿa) from another. Al-Riḍā said, with respect to Hārūn, "How far the house is, and how

near the meeting at Ṭūs! O Ṭūs, O Ṭūs! You will be my meeting place with him."

61. Shaykh al-Ṣadūq narrates from Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn, from his father, from Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-ʿAṭṭār, from Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī, from Abū-Saʿīd al-Ādamī, from Aḥmad ibn Mūsā, from Saʿīd ibn Saʿd who said: I was with Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Riḍā (ʿa) during the circumambulation. When we were adjacent to the Yemeni Corner he stood up and raised his hands up and said: O God, O Bestower of wellbeing, O Creator of wellbeing, O Provider of wellbeing, O Giver of the favor of wellbeing, O oft-Giver of wellbeing, O Bestower of the grace of wellbeing on me and on all Your creation, O Compassionate and Merciful One of the world and the hereafter, bless Muḥammad and his Household and provide us with wellbeing, the continuation of wellbeing and the gratitude for wellbeing, in this world and the next, O most Gracious of all gracious ones!

62. *Al-Kāfī*, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* and *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*: Ibrāhīm ibn Abī-Maḥmūd said: I saw Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa) bidding the House farewell. When he wanted to go out from the door of the mosque he prostrated then stood up, faced the Kaʿbah and said: O God, I am departing with the belief that there is no deity except You.

63. *Kashf al-Ghummah*: Umayyah ibn ʿAlī said: I was with Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa) in Makkah in the year he performed the pilgrimage and later left for Khurāsān. He was accompanied by Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa). Abū'l-Ḥasan was bidding the House farewell and when he completed his circumambulation he went to the Station of Abraham (ʿa) and prayed by it. Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) did the circumambulation, carried by Muwaffaq on his shoulders. Abū-Jaʿfar moved to the Ḥijr and sat in it for a long time, so Muwaffaq said, "Stand up, may I be your ransom."

He said, "I do not want to leave this place except if God wills," grief showing in his face.

Muwaffaq went to Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa) and said, "May I be your ransom, Abū-Jaʿfar is sitting in the Ḥijr and refusing to leave."

Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa) went over to Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) and said to him, "Stand up, my dear," but he replied, "I do not want to leave my place."

His father said, "You will, my dear," and he said, "How can I stand up while you have bade the House a farewell, after which you will not return to it?"

He said, "Stand up, my dear," and Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) rose and went with him.

Imam Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, Abū-Jafar, al-Jawād

64. Al-Kulaynī relates: From a number of our companions, from Aḥmad in Muḥammad and Abū-ʿAlī al-Ashʿarī, from Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Kūfī, from ʿAlī ibn Mahziyār who said: I saw Abū-Jaʿfar the second (ʿa) in the year 225 A.H. bidding farewell to the House. It was in the morning after the sun had risen in the sky. He went round the House and touched the Yemeni Corner in each round. In the seventh round he touched the corner and the touched the Stone and rubbed his hand over it and wiped his face with the hand. Then he came to the Station and offered two units of prayer behind it. Then he went to the back side of the Kaʿbah at the Multazam, bared his belly and clung to the House. He stayed there for a long time, then he went out of the mosque through the door of Ḥannāṭin and set out for his homeward journey.

I saw him earlier in the year 217 A.H. bidding the House farewell which he did at night. He touched the Yemeni Corner of the Kaʿbah and the Black Stone in each round. In the seventh round he clung to the House near the Yemeni Corner, baring his belly. Then he went to the Stone which he kissed and rubbed, and then went to the Station, prayed behind it and went away. He did not return to the House after that. The time he spent standing at the Multazam was equal to the time some of our companions would spend going round the Kaʿbah seven times and others eight times.

The Awaited Imam al-Mahdī

65. ʿAbdullāh ibn Jaʿfar al-Ḥimyarī says: I asked Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān al-ʿUmarī, may God be pleased with him: "Have you seen the Master of this affair (i.e. the one with rightful authority over the Muslims, and that is Imam Mahdī)?"

He replied, "Yes. The last time I saw him was at the sacred House of God, while he was saying, 'O God fulfill for me what You have promised me.' And I have also seen him, may God bless him, clinging to the drapes of the Kaʿbah, at the al-Mustajār saying, 'O God take revenge for me on Your enemies.'"

66. Shaykh al-Ṭūsī relates from Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Rāzī, from ʿAlī ibn ʿĀ'idh al-Rāzī, from Ḥasan ibn Wajnā' al-Nasībī, from Abū-Naʿīm Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Anṣārī who said: I was present at the al-Mustajār in Makkah, together with a group of about thirty men, none of whom were loyal [to the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa)], apart from Muḥammad ibn Qāsim al-ʿAlawī. In the 6th day of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah of the year 293 A.H., a young man appeared to us from the circumambulation. He was wearing two pieces of loincloth in which he commenced his pilgrimage and in his hand were a pair of sandals.

When we saw him we all rose out of awe; none of us remained sitting. He greeted us and sat down in the middle of our group. Then he turned to the right and to the left, and then said, "Do you know what Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) used to say in the Supplication of Ernest Request (*Ilḥāḥ*)?"

We said, "What did he say?"

He said, "He used to say: O God I beseech You with Your name by which the heaven stands; by which the earth stands; by which You separate truth from falsehood; by which You gather up the scattered; by which You scatter what is gathered; by which You reckon the number of sand grains, the weight of mountains and the weight of the seas; bless Muḥammad and Muḥammad's Household and provide for me with a means of relief in my affair."

Then he rose and started the circumambulation and we also rose after him. He finished his circumambulation and went away, but we forgot to mention his affair or enquire about his identity until the following day at the same time as the day before. He appeared again, coming from the circumambulation, and we rose for him as we did the previous day, and he sat down where he sat the day before, in the middle. Then he looked to the right and to the left and said, "Do you know what the Commander of the Faithful used to say after the obligatory prayers?"

We said, "What did he say?"

He said, "Toward You are voices raised and the entreaties made. All faces are humbled before You, and all creations are in humility before You. Passing judgment with respect to deeds is Yours. O Best of all those who are asked; O Best of those who give; O Truthful One; O Creator of creatures out of nothing; O He, Who does not break His promise; O He, Who enjoins supplication and guarantees answer; O He Who said: *Call Me and I will answer you*; O He Who said: *When My servants ask you about Me [tell them] I am indeed near, I answer a supplicant's call when he calls Me. So let them respond to Me and let them have faith in Me, so that they may fare rightly*; O He Who said, *O My servants who have committed excesses against their own souls, do not despair of the Mercy of God. Indeed God forgives all sins. Indeed He is the All-Forgiving, the All-Merciful*. At Your service by Your support! Here I am before You, I who have committed excesses, and You are the One Who said: *Do not despair of the Mercy of God. Indeed God forgives all sins*."

Then he looked to the right and to the left after this supplication and said, "Do you know what the Commander of the Faithful used to say in the prostration of gratitude?"

We said, "What did he say?"

He said, "He used to say: O He to Whom intensive supplication adds nothing but abundance and giving; O He Whose treasuries are never empty; O He to Whom belong the treasuries of the heavens and the earth; O He to Whom belong the treasuries of the small and the great, my offense does not prevent You from doing good. You do to me that which You deserve, and indeed You deserve being generous, magnanimous, forgiving and overlooking, while I am worthy of punishment and, indeed, I deserve it. I have no argument and no excuse before You, therefore, I am turning to You with all my sins, and confessing them, so that You may forgive me, for You know them more than I do. I turn to You [to attain forgiveness] for every sin I have committed, every misdeed I have perpetrated and every wrong I have done. Lord, forgive and show mercy, and overlook that which You know [of my wrong], for You are indeed the Greatest, Most Magnanimous."

Then he rose and started the circumambulation and we also rose after him. He returned the following day at the same time as the previous, and we rose to welcome him as we did the before. Then he sat down where he sat the day before in the middle. Then he looked to the right and to the left and said, "ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa), lord of those who prostrate, used to say in his prostration in this place (and he pointed to the Ḥijr under the spout): Your inconsequential servant is by Your door, Your indigent one is in Your courtyard, Your poor one is in Your courtyard, Your beggar is in Your courtyard, appealing to You for what, other than You, are incapable of doing."

Then he looked to the right and to the left and looked at Muḥammad ibn Qāsim and said, "O Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, your lot is toward good, God willing." (Muḥammad ibn Qāsim used to talk about this).

Then he stood up and started the circumambulation. Every one of us was able to remember the supplications he had mentioned, as if by inspiration, but we forgot to discuss his affair until the end of the day. Abū-ʿAlī al-Maḥmūdī [opened the discussion and] said, "Do you know this man? By God, this is the leader of your time (Imam Mahdī)."

We said, "How do you know that, O Abū-ʿAlī?"

Then he recounted how he had prayed to God for seven years and beseeched Him to show him the Imam of the Age (ʿa). He said: One evening, on the day of ʿArafāt, we saw this same man reciting a supplication, which I remembered. I asked him who he was and he said, "One among men."

I said, "From which group of men?"

He said, “From among the Arabs.”

I said, “From which group of Arabs?”

He said, “The noblest of them.”

I said, “Who are they?”

He said, “Banū-Hāshim [clan].”

I said, “From which group of Banū-Hāshim?”

He said, “From their loftiest and most radiant.”

I said, “From whom?”

He said, “From he who dispels sorrows, feeds [the needy] and prays when the people are asleep.”

Hearing this I realized that he was a descendant of Imam ʿAlī, so I loved him on that account. Then I suddenly missed him and did not know how he left. Then I asked the people who were around him if they knew this ʿAlawī, and they answered in the affirmative, saying that he used to perform ḥajj with them every year, travelling on foot. I said, “Glory be to God! But I have not seen with him the signs of travelling on foot.”

Then I moved to Muzdalifah, sad and aggrieved due to the separation. When I slept that night I saw myself in the presence of the Apostle of God (ṣ), and he said to me, “O Aḥmad, is your request fulfilled?”

I said, “Who is that person, my lord?”

He replied, “The one you saw in the evening was the leader of your time.”

When we heard this from Abū-ʿAlī we rebuked him for his failure to inform us [who the man was], and he said that he used to forget the matter, until the time he told us the story.

67. Shaykh al-Ṣadūq narrates from ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Kūfī who is known as Ibn al-Qāsim al-Khadījī, from Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Riqqī, from Abū-Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn Wajnā' al-Nasībī who said: During the fifty-fourth pilgrimage I made, one night, after dusk, I was in prostration under the spout, when someone shook me and said, “Stand up, O Ḥasan ibn Wajnā.”

I rose and saw a pale emaciated-looking slave-woman. One would put her age at forty and above. She led the way and I asked her nothing until she arrived at the house of Khadījah (ʿa). In the house, there was an apartment with a door in the middle of the wall and teak stairs. She went up the stairs, and after a while, I heard a call from inside the apartment, “Ascend, O Ḥasan!”

So I ascended the stairs and stopped at the door. Then the Imam of the Age (ʿa) said to me, “O Ḥasan, do you think that you are concealed from me? By

God, there was no occasion during your pilgrimage in which I was not with you."

Then he counted those occasions and I fell on my face unconscious. Then I felt a hand touching me and I got up. Then he said to me, "O Ḥasan, attach yourself to the house of Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa), let not food and clothing be your concern."

Then he gave me a notebook in which the Supplication of Relief and the formula of sending blessings to him were written. He said, "This is a protection, and this is the way you should send blessings to me. Do not give it to anyone except those who are truly loyal to me. Certainly, God the Mighty and Sublime will grant you success."

68. It is narrated in *al-Kharā'ij wa'l-Jarā'iḥ* that Abū'l-Qāsim Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn Qulawayh said: When I reached Baghdad on my way to the pilgrimage in the year 339 A.H. which was the year the Qarāmites returned the Black Stone to its place at the House, my foremost desire was to see the man who would fix the stone, because the books mentioned that it will be taken away and that the Proof of the Age will restore it to its position the way Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (ʿa) restored it during the time of al-Ḥajjāj, and it settled there. However, I fell terribly ill and even feared for my life, so I was unable to make the journey. Instead I sent Maʿrūf ibn Hishām to travel in my place and gave him a sealed note, asking how long I would live and whether my present illness will be the cause of my death. I told him that my objective was that this note should be handed to the one who would lay the Stone in its place and that my answer should be received from him. I told him that that was precisely the task I was assigning him.

Maʿrūf ibn Hishām said: I went to Makkah. When the arrangement was made for restoring the Stone, I gave a tip to the caretakers of the House to allow me to stay at a place from which I could see the man who would lay the Stone in its place. I also assigned one of them to keep off the people from me. [The ceremony took off, but] whenever a person tried to fix the Stone, it shook and would not stay. Then a young man of brownish complexion and handsome face came. He took it and placed in its place, and it fitted as though it had always been there, a feat which attracted a loud applause from the people. The man went out [of the mosque] and I rose from my place and followed him. I was shoving the people left and right in such frenzy that I may have been considered insane. The people were making way for me even as my gaze was fixed on him until he had left the crowds behind him. I hastened my pace after him. He was walking at a slow pace, but I could not overtake him. When he reached a place where no one was seeing him apart

from me, he stopped and turned round to me and said, "Bring what you are carrying," and I handed him the note. Without reading it, he said, "Tell him that he should not be apprehensive with regard to his present illness. The inevitable is coming after thirty years." I was seized by panic and could not even move, while he left me and went away.

Then Maʿrūf ibn Hishām informed me of this statement.

In the year 369 A.H. Abū'l-Qāsim fell sick so he began reflecting on his affairs and making his preparation for the journey to the grave. He wrote his will and gave it the utmost care. The people said, "Why all this fear while we are hoping that God Almighty will give you good health out of His grace? There is nothing for you to fear."

"This is the year I have been made to fear," he responded. And that illness became the cause of his death.

69. In another narration, *al-Kharā'ij wa'l-Jarā'iḥ* relates: Abū-Muḥammad al-Daʿlajī, a distinguished Shīʿah who had a great knowledge of the narrations, had two sons. One of them, Abū'l-Ḥasan, was an upright fellow, who used to perform the bath for the dead, while the other was given to dissipation and sin. Abū-Muḥammad was given assignments to perform the ḥajj on behalf of the Imam of the Age (ʿa), a practice that was widespread among the Shīʿah in those days. He passed on part of the assignment to his profligate son and set off for the journey.

On his return, he related that when he was standing at ʿArafāt, he saw by his side, a young man of brownish complexion with a handsome face and two strands of hair showing. He said: The man was engrossed in earnest prayer and entreaty in all humbleness. When a group of people came near us, he turned to me and said, "O old man, are you not ashamed?"

I replied, "Of what should I be ashamed, my lord?"

He said, "Performing pilgrimages on behalf of someone you know has been assigned to you, and then you passed on part of them to a sinner who drinks wine? You may lose this eye of yours before long (and he pointed to my eye)."

From then on I lived with fear and apprehension.

Abū-ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn al-Nuʿmān who had heard this story said: He did not spend as many as forty days before a boil appeared in the eye to which the man had pointed, and he lost its sight.

70. Shaykh al-Ṭūsī relates from a number of narrators, from Muḥammad ibn Hārūn ibn Mūsā al-Talʿakbarī, from Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Rāzī who said: I heard from an elderly man who had visited Abū'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn

Jaʿfar al-Asadī in Rayy. He narrated two narrations to al-Asadī concerning the Imam of the Age (ʿa), and I also heard them. I think it took place before the year 300 A.H. or thereabouts. The man said: ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fadakī informed me that al-ʿAwdī said: I was going round the Kaʿbah. I had finished six rounds and wanted to start the seventh when I saw a circle of people by the right of the Kaʿbah, and among them was a young man with a handsome face and sweet fragrance about him. He was awe-inspiring, but nonetheless, very approachable. When he spoke his speech was the best and most pleasant I had ever heard. I approached him to talk to him, but the people scolded me. I asked one of the people who the man was, and he said, "The son of the Apostle of God (ṣ). He appears to his closest followers one day every year, and converses with them."

I went up to him and said, "I am a seeker of guidance and I have come to you, so guide me, may God guide you."

He gave me a pebble and I turned my face. One of those sitting with him asked me, "What has the son of the Apostle of God (ṣ) given you?" and I replied that it was a pebble. Then I opened my hand and lo, it was a gold coin!

Then I went away, but he soon joined me and said, "Proof has been established against you, the truth has appeared to you, and blindness has left you. Do you know me?"

I replied, "Certainly, no."

He said, "I am al-Mahdī. I am the Riser of the Age. I am the one who will fill the world with justice after it has been filled with injustice and tyranny. Surely the earth will never be devoid of a Proof, and the people will not remain in any period in the absence of a guide more than the period the Israelites wandered. The days of my coming have indeed appeared. This is a trust that has been placed on you, so inform your brethren among the followers of the truth."

A similar narration is reported in *al-Kharā'ij*.

FOUR PIECES OF ADVICE

From the philosopher and mystic Ayatollah Ḥasanzādeh Āmulī

1. In the year 1411 A.H. when I prepared for the journey to the Two Noble Sanctuaries (i.e. Makkah and al-Madīnah), for the pilgrimage to the House of God and visiting [the mausoleum] of the Lord of mankind (ṣ), I went to bid farewell to the eminent Shaykh and also to have the benefit of his advice and prayers. Accordingly, I requested some guidance and a supplication for that journey. The master said to me, "In this journey you should be repeating the last two verses of Sūrah al-Jāthiyah: *So all praise belongs to God the Lord of all the worlds. To him belongs all supremacy in the heavens and the earth and He is the All-mighty, the All-wise.*

2. Before my departure for ḥajj in 1412 my friend Ḥujjat al-Islām Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Banī-Hāshimī and I called on the Shaykh. I said to him, "Will you kindly favor us with some benefits God the Exalted has bestowed on you?"

The master said, "Pray for protection against misfortunes by reciting this supplication: *O Protector Who does not forget! O He Whose blessing cannot be reckoned! You are the One Who said: 'Indeed, We have sent down the Reminder, and indeed, We will preserve it.'"*

Then he said, "This supplication is related from Shaykh Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn al-Āmulī through the eminent Sayyid Mahdī al-Qāḍī, son of Ayatollah Sayyid ʿAlī al-Qāḍī al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī."

I wrote down this supplication and repeated it very often. During our journey, on the way between Jidda and al-Madīnah, our bus met with a dangerous accident, but no one among the pilgrims was hurt. I counted that among the grace the Compassionate God had shown us as part of the blessings of this supplication.

3. When I prepared for ḥajj in 1413 A.H. I went to see the Shaykh as usual. I said to him, "When I bade you farewell the previous years, you gave me some precious gifts. Will you please give me something this year also, from what God Almighty has bestowed on you?"

The master answered, "Read the Verse of the Throne twenty-one times every

day. It illuminates the heart and strengthens the experience of being in the presence of God the Exalted."

I asked him whether the blessed verse he had mentioned ended at *the All-Exalted, All-Supreme*, or at *They shall remain in it forever*. He replied, "Whenever there is an instruction to read this blessed verse in a particular case, the requirement of that case should be observed, but in this case, read it to the end: *They shall remain in it forever*."

4. As it had by now became my practice, in the year 1415 A.H. I went to the Shaykh to bid him farewell before setting out for the pilgrimage. I said to him, "Like previous years when I had the honor of calling on you and receiving your favors of gifts and supplications, I have come this year also for the same purpose."

The master, may God preserve him, said, "The most important thing to us is to strive to attain God's approval and to seek proximity to Him by our deeds so that we may reach the station of With-ness. The purpose of our pilgrimage to the House of God should be the following of His commands: we circumambulate the House in compliance with the order of our Great Lord. What is important to us is not the stones and the mud (of the bricks). If He had commanded us to go round a hill, [for instance], we would have circumambulated it. However, He did not command us to circumambulate anything apart from the Kaʿbah. We are merely His servants so it is our duty is to obey Him with regard to His commands and His prohibitions."

This noble speech meant that what is important for the pilgrims is to devote their attention to the owner of the House, and that is God the Exalted, in their circumambulation, in their prayers, in their circuiting between Ṣafā and Marwah, and in their standing at the great standing places, because they are indeed God's guests, as we read in the narrations. The invitees of God should not content themselves only with the outward form of the rites and in watching the venerated stations.

Some People Who Performed Ḥajj and ʻUmrah Numerous Times

Many reports have been narrated urging the Muslims to perform ḥajj and ʿumrah very often. These reports are so numerous that they can be considered to have reached the level of *tawātur ijmālī* (which means that the meaning they convey, if not the words, is consecutively transmitted). Such narrations have been reported first from the Prophet (ṣ) and then from his noble testamentary legatees, the pure Imams (ʿa). The Apostle of God (ṣ) is reported to have said, "Do ḥajj and ʿumrah repeatedly, for they remove

poverty and sin the way the bellows remove corrosion from iron."

Indeed there is a large number of narrations from the Holy Imams (ʿa) that urge the Muslims to do the pilgrimage and ʿumrah very often. ʿĪsā ibn Abī-Manṣūr says: Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said to me: O ʿĪsā, God wishes to see you preparing for pilgrimage in the interval between the time of one pilgrimage and that of another.

ʿAdhāfir relates that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said to him, "What prevents you from performing the pilgrimage every year?"

He replied, "May I be your ransom! The family (i.e. family responsibilities)."

He said, "When you die who will take care of your family? Feed your family [even if it were] with vinegar and oil and take them along for ḥajj every year."

Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: I enjoin you to be going for the pilgrimage of this House very often because the habit of oft-repeating the pilgrimage repels the undesirable things of this world from you and saves you from the terrors of the Day of Resurrection.

Shaykh al-Ṣadūq relates from his father, from Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb, from al-Ḥajjāl, from Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, from Ṣafwān ibn Mihrān al-Jammāl, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) who said: Whoever makes the pilgrimage twice will live a blessed life to the time of his death.

Another report through this chain of transmission says that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: Whoever makes the pilgrimage three times will never be afflicted with poverty.

Shaykh al-Ṣadūq relates another report through Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, from Manṣūr ibn Ḥāzim who said: I asked Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) what the reward was for him who did the pilgrimage four times, and he replied: O Manṣūr, whoever makes four pilgrimages will never experience the pressure of the grave. When he dies, God will transform the pilgrimages he had done into a form which he will see in front of him. It will be offering prayers inside the grave until the day God will bring him forth from the grave and the rewards of those prayers will be his own. Know that each one of those prayers is equivalent to a thousand cycles of the prayers of humans.

Another report from Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, from his father, from Aḥmad ibn Idrīs, from Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿImrān al-Ashʿarī, from

Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Muʿādhi, from Muḥammad ibn Khālid al-Ṭayālisī, from Sayf ibn ʿUmayrah, from Abū-Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī who said: I said to Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa), "What is the reward for the one who does the pilgrimage five times?"

He replied, "Whoever makes the pilgrimage five times, God will never punish him."

Through the same chain of transmission, Shaykh al-Ṣadūq relates that Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said: Whoever makes the pilgrimage ten times, God will never call him to account.

Through the same chain of transmission he relates that Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) said: Whoever makes the pilgrimage twenty times will never see Hell or hear its wailing and groaning.

In another report Shaykh al-Ṣadūq relates from his father, from Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb, from Abū-Jaʿfar al-Aḥwal, from Zakariyyā al-Mawṣilī Kawkab al-Dām who said: I heard the Pious Servant [i.e. Imam Kāẓim] (ʿa) saying: He who performs forty pilgrimages will be told: Intercede for the people you love; and a gate will be opened for him into Paradise, through which he will enter together with those he intercedes for.

In yet another report, Shaykh al-Ṣadūq relates from his father, from Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb, from ʿAlī ibn Sayf, from ʿAbd al-Mu'min, from Hārūn ibn Khārijah who said that he had heard Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) saying: He who performs fifty pilgrimages, God will build for him a city in the Garden of Eden, in which are a hundred thousand castles; in each castle there is a houri. And he will be made one of the companions of Muḥammad (ṣ) in Paradise.

As they commanded and urged their followers and partisans to do ḥajj and ʿumrah many times, the Holy Imams (ʿa) had made many pilgrimages and *ʿumrāt*, thus they practiced what they preached. Imam al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Mujtabā (ʿa) went to ḥajj twenty times travelling on foot and his luggage was driven along. It was even related that he made twenty-five pilgrimages walking on foot! Imam al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī the Martyr of Karbalā' (ʿa) went on pilgrimage twenty-five times on foot, like his brother. Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (ʿa) did twenty or twenty-two pilgrimages.

In observance of the above-mentioned pieces of advice and guidance, a large number of Muslims have, over the centuries, undertaken the journey to Makkah to visit the venerated House of God for ḥajj or for ʿumrah. From the

early period of Islam to this day, numerous men and women from all denominations of Islam have shown their interest in doing the pilgrimage repeatedly. Some works of *ḥadīth*, history, Qur'ānic exegesis, biographies, science of the condition of narrators, travel memos and sundry other works have mentioned the names of those who performed the pilgrimage very often.

The Imāmiyyah Shīʿah have, over the years, made pilgrimage and ʿumrah in great numbers, in compliance with the wishes and commands of the Prophet (ṣ) and his Household (ʿa). And it is no wonder, because they are the people who take pride in obeying the Prophet's command of loyalty to the Two Weighty Things, the Book of God, the Noble Qur'ān that is in circulation among Muslims, which suffers no increase or decrease, and the Household of the Prophet (ṣ), at the head of whom are the twelve Imams (ʿa). I do not intend here to present all their names and brief biographies. However, seeing that Ibn Jawzī has mentioned in his work, *Muthīr al-Gharām al-Sākin ilā Ashraf al-Amākin*, some Sunnis who have performed the pilgrimage numerous times, as did ʿAbdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marjānī in his *Bahjat al-Nufūs wa'l-Asrār*, I thought that it would be beneficial to mention similar people from the Ahl al-Bayt's followers. Perhaps the Almighty will bring a time when some writers will take up this topic and write a befitting work on it. Indeed this important intellectual project requires the efforts of a team of scholars to do justice to it, as a tribute to the Shīʿah who have undertaken the pilgrimage numerous times in their lives.

Below I will mention the names I have come across in books, and jotted down without any special effort to expand around the topic.

1. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī-al-Ḥusayn al-Naqīb Muḥammad ibn ʿUbaydullāh ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿUbaydullāh ibn ʿAlī al-Riḍā ibn ʿUbaydullāh al-Aʿraj ibn Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar ibn Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (ʿa). He was the ḥajj leader (*amīr al-ḥajj*) for more than twenty years.

2. Ḥasan ibn Wajnā' al-Nasībī: Shaykh al-Ṣadūq relates that in *Kamāl al-Dīn*, from Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Isḥāq al-Ṭāliqānī, from ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Kūfī, from Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Riqqī, from Ḥasan ibn Wajnā' al-Nasībī who said: I was in prostration under the roof spout of the Kaʿbah during my fifty-fourth pilgrimage. It was after nightfall and I was imploring and supplicating…

3. Ḥammād ibn ʿĪsā al-Juhanī: He did the pilgrimage fifty times. He was a disciple of Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ʿa). Abū-Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Rastom al-Ṭabarī writes in *Dalā'il al-Imāmah*: ʿAlī ibn Hibatullāh al-Mawṣilī informed me from Abū-Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā al-Qummī, from his father, from Saʿd ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Abū-ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn Khālid al-Barqī, from Ḥammād ibn ʿĪsā al-Juhanī who said: I went to Abu'l-Ḥasan Mūsā (ʿa) and said to him, "May I be your ransom! Pray to God to give me a house, a wife, a son, a servant and enable me perform the pilgrimage every year."

He raised his hand up and supplicated, "O God, bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad, and provide him with a house, a wife, a son, a servant and enable him do ḥajj for fifty years."

[His prayer was accepted and] I have performed the pilgrimage forty-eight times, my wife is behind the curtain hearing what I am saying, this is my son, and this is my servant.

After that occasion, al-Juhanī did two other pilgrimages completing the fifty and then he set out for another in which he travelled with Abū-ʿAbbās al-Nawfalī. When he reached the place where *iḥrām* is taken he went to take a bath, but the valley flooded and carried him away and he was drowned. He was buried at al-Sayyālah.

4. ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Mahziyār al-Aḥwāzī was among the most outstanding Imāmiyyah scholars of the closing years of the third Hegira century. Al-Ṭūsī relates in *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*: A number of people informed us from al-Talʿakbarī, from Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Rāzī, from ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn, from someone (he said that the man was from Qazwīn but did not mention his name), from Ḥabīb ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūnus ibn Shādhān al-Ṣāghānī who said: I visited ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Mahziyār al-Aḥwāzī and asked him about the family of Abū-Muḥammad (ṣ). He said: O brother, you have indeed asked about an important matter. I did the pilgrimage twenty times, each time seeking to see the Imam, but without success. One night as I slept in my bed I saw someone in a dream saying: O ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, God has given me permission to do the pilgrimage…

5. Ibn Khallikān writes in the glosses of the short biography of ʿAṭā ibn Abī-Rabāḥ, a companion of the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa): He died in the year 115 A.H. (some say 114) at the age of eighty-eight. Ibn Abī-Laylā says: ʿAṭā did the pilgrimage seventy times and lived for a hundred years.

6. Mujāhid, who was among the *tābiʿūn*, the generation following that of the Prophet's companions: He is reported to have said: I performed the pilgrimage forty times, all of them in *tamattuʿ* form.

7. Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Naqīb Muḥammad al-Ashtar ibn ʿUbaydullāh ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿUbaydullāh ibn ʿAlī al-Riḍā ibn ʿUbaydullāh al-Aʿraj ibn Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar ibn Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (ʿa): He was the ḥajj leader in al-Kūfah for eight years.

8. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Anṣārī al-Zarandī: He died in al-Madīnah in the year 772 A.H. He did ḥajj forty times. He died on his way from Iraq to Ḥijāz.

9. Abū-ʿAlī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Maḥmūdī: He did the pilgrimage twenty times. Al-Ṭabarī writes in *Dalā'il al-Imāmah*: ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAlī al-Muṭṭalibī relates from Abū'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Samarī, from Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Maḥmūdī, from Abū-ʿAlī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Maḥmūdī who said: I performed the pilgrimage for more than twenty years. In all of them I would hold the curtains of the Kaʿbah, stand on the Wreck by the Black Stone and the Station of Abraham (ʿa) and prolong my supplication at the Standing places. Most of my prayers were requests that God should show me the Imam of the Age (i.e. Imam Mahdī)…

It is related in *Ikhtiyār Maʿrifat al-Rijāl*: I saw it written in Abū-ʿAbdullāh al-Shādhānī's hand in his book: I heard Faḍl ibn Hishām al-Harawī say: I asked him [al-Maḥmūdī] the number of his pilgrimages, but he did not tell me. He only replied, "I have been blessed with some great good, God be praised."

Then I said to him, "Do you do ḥajj for yourself or for others?"

He replied, "For others, after my Islamic ḥajj (i.e. the one ḥajj that is obligatory as a pillar of Islam); I do ḥajj on behalf of the Apostle of God (ṣ) and offer the rewards God will give me to the Saints of God (i.e. the Imams), and then give what I am rewarded for this action as a gift to the believing men and women."

I said, "How do you make the intention in your pilgrimages?"

He replied, "I say: O God, I am commencing ḥajj for Your Apostle Muḥammad (ṣ), I offer my recompense from You and from him to Your Pure Saints (ṣ), and give my reward, thereof, as a gift to Your servants, men and women, who believe in Your Book and the Sunnah of Your Apostle …

10. Muḥammad ibn Bishr al-Ḥamdūnī Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Sūsanjardī: A theologian well-versed in theology, and of agreeable beliefs and excellent devotion. Among his deeds was that he did the pilgrimage fifty times, travelling on foot, and he wrote a book on Imamate (the issue of leadership of the Muslim nation after the Apostle). Al-Najjāshī mentioned him separately. In describing Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Qubbah al-Rāzī, he mentioned al-Sūsanjardi's taking of Ibn Qubbah's work to Abū'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī, the latter's refutation of it and his counter refutation. Sharīf Abū-Ḥusayn ibn al-Maḥlūs relates from al-Sūsanjardī himself that this took place in the presence of Sharīf al-Raḍī and Shaykh al-Mufīd. Ibn Nadīm also described a brief biography of al-Sūhsanjardī among Shīʿite theologians, saying: He was among the servants; Abū-Sahl al-Nawbakhtī, a theologian who lived in the beginning of the fourth century.

He mentioned that his tecknonym was Abū'l-Ḥasan. He was related to the Ḥamdūn family, and wrote the book *al-Infādh fi'l-Imāmah*.

Al-Muḥaddith al-Qummī says: Muḥammad ibn Bishr was among the pious men and one of the illustrious scholars and theologians. He went on ḥajj fifty times on foot. He was the author of the work *al-Infādh fi'l-Imāmah*, as Ibn Nadīm mentions in his *al-Fihrist* in the section about Abū-Sahl ibn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī al-Nawbakhtī.

11. Sayyidah Nafīsah bint Ḥasan ibn Zayd ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib was buried in Egypt. Al-Muḥaddith al-Qummī says: She was born in the year 145 A.H. at Makkah and grew up in al-Madīnah. She used to fast during the day and spend the night in prayer. She did the pilgrimage thirty times and travelled on foot in most of them.

12. Hārūn ibn Khārijah: He performed at least seventeen pilgrimages and nineteen lesser pilgrimages (*'umrāt*). He related: Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said to me, "O Hārūn, how many times did you perform the pilgrimage?"

I replied, "Nineteen ḥajj and nineteen *'umrāt*."

He said, "If you had completed twenty pilgrimages, you would have been like the one who visits al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ʿa)."

13. Yūnus ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: He was among the outstanding companions of the Holy Imam (ʿa). He did ḥajj fifty-four times. Al-Kishshī said: I saw it written in Muḥammad ibn Shādhān ibn Naʿīm's book in his own handwriting: I heard Abū-Muḥammad al-Qammās Ḥasan ibn ʿAlawiyah, the reliable one, saying: I heard Faḍl ibn Shādhān saying that Yūnus ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān did the pilgrimage fifty-four times, and ʿumrah the same number

of times, and wrote a million volumes in refutation of the non-Shīʿah.

It is said that the knowledge of the Imams (ʿa) ends with four men: the first was Salmān al-Fārisī, the second was Jābir, the third was al-Sayyid and the fourth was Yūnus ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

14. Ḥudhayfah ibn Manṣūr: When Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) asked him how many times he had done ḥajj, he replied: Nineteen times.

15. Shihāb ibn ʿAbd-Rabbih: When Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) asked him how many pilgrimages he performed, he replied: Nineteen.

16. A disciple of Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) who concealed his name said that he had told the Imam that he had performed nineteen pilgrimages and nineteen *ʿumrāt*.

17. Shaykh Mīrzā Muḥsin al-Faḍlī: He was very fond of ḥajj and ʿumrah; he went for ḥajj thirty times. He used to say that one should never stop performing the pilgrimage as long as one is healthy enough to do it, and as he says he never ceased going for ḥajj until he was afflicted by a serious illness, which inhibited his movements and made travelling difficult for him.

18. Mahdī al-Bayātī: He was not a religious scholar but a faithful man whose trade was selling pastries in Najaf, a city in Iraq. He went on pilgrimage thirty-nine times, one of which he travelled on foot. He went on ʿumrah seven times, visited Imam al-Riḍā (ʿa) thirteen times at his mausoleum in the Iranian city of Mashhad and visited Lady Zaynab (ʿa) in the Syrian city of Damascus more than eighty times.

Mahdī al-Bayātī said: I used to sell pastries at the door of the noble courtyard [of Imam ʿAlī's mausoleum] at dawn, and the religious authority Shaykh Ḥasan al-Māmaqānī would pass by me every day and say, "You will die a Jew or a Christian [if you refuse to do the pilgrimage]." One day I asked what I should do since I did not have the wherewithal for pilgrimage, and he said, "Purchase a riding animal and travel on it." So I bought a mount and set out for ḥajj. I never gained profits the like of what I got that year, ever in my life before. I arrived in Makkah before the onset of the ḥajj season, and I served as broker between Iranian and Saudi pilgrims in the sale of Iranian carpets.

19. Amīr Isḥāq al-Astrābādī: He was a noble and pious man. He made the pilgrimage forty times, travelling on foot. It is widely believed that he possessed the miraculous power of what is called *folding of the earth* (*ṭayy al-arḍ*).

In recent years a large number of people perform ḥajj and ʿumrah numerous times. I know many people including some of my friends, who have done the pilgrimage and ʿumrah more than twenty times. Myself I have, by God's grace, performed the *tamattuʿ* pilgrimage together with the accompanying ʿumrah eleven times and did the single ʿumrah ten times, and, accordingly, I express my gratitude to God Almighty for enabling me to undertake twenty-one journeys to the two Holy Sanctuaries.

Some Shīʿite religious scholars buried in Makkah

We find in works that talk about Makkah that a number of Shīʿite scholars lived in the holy city or had died and been buried there. In this regard I will present here an impromptu list of some names of such scholars.

1. Sayyid Maḥmūd ibn Shaykh al-Islām Mīrzā ʿAlī Aṣghar al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Tabrīzī, who died of the epidemic which occurred in Makkah in the year 1310 A.H.: He was the author of *Ibdāʿ al-badāʿ fī Ḥaqīqat al-Qadar waʾl-Qaḍāʾ*.

2. ʿAlī ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn Abū-Ḥasan al-Mūsawī Nūr al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, brother to Sayyid Muḥammad, the author of *Madārik al-Aḥkām*. He resided in Makkah at a time when Makkah was a destination for Imāmiyyah scholars. Al-Muḥaddith al-Qummī says that al-ʿĀmilī stayed in Makkah for more than twenty years and died there in the year 1068 A.H. This is mentioned by the eminent researcher Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ṣadr in *Takmilat Amal al-Āmil*, in which he said that for a period of time, Makkah was a destination for followers of the Imāmiyyah school.

3. Muḥammad Muʿmin ibn Dūst Muḥammad Ḥusaynī al-ʿAqilī al-Astrābādī, author of the treatise on the Return (*al-Rajʿah*), and in-law to Muḥammad Amīn al-Astrābādī. During 1088 A.H. he was living in Makkah. He was killed together with a group of fellow Shīʿites by the non-Shīʿah, on flimsy charges. He was a student of Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn, brother of Sayyid Muḥammad, the author of *Madārik al-Aḥkām*.

4. Sayyid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Kāshānī: When flood destroyed the holy Kaʿbah in 1039 A.H. this great scholar was living in Makkah and he helped in rebuilding it. He has mentioned this incident in his treatise *Mafraḥat al-Anām bi-Taʿsīs Bayt Allah al-Ḥarām*. He was martyred in Makkah and buried in Al-Muʿallāt cemetery.

5. Mīrzā Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Astrābādī, the author of the works on *rijāl*, including *al-Kabīr*, *al-Mutawassiṭ* and *al-Ṣaghīr*. He was honored with meeting the Awaited Imam al-Mahdī, may God hasten his reappearance. Concerning him, al-Majlisī says: The eminent Sayyid Mīrzā Muḥammad,

may God sanctify his soul, was among the illustrious, pious and learned scholars. He resided in Makkah until the day he died. It is a well-known story that one day he was going round the Kaʿbah when a man came to him and gave him a flower of a different time and clime. He said to the man, "From where did you bring it?"

He replied, "From these ruins."

After that question, he wanted to see the man again, but he was nowhere to be seen. He died in 1028 A.H. and was buried in al-Muʿallāt cemetery in Makkah.

6. Muḥammad Amīn ibn Muḥammad al-Astrābādī was a leading Akhbārī scholar and author of *al-Fawā'id al-Madaniyyah*. He died in the holy city of Makkah in 1033 A.H.

7. Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī ibn al-Shahīd al-Thānī, was the grandson of al-Shahīd al-Thānī. He lived in Makkah and died there at the age of fifty-three. He was buried in al-Muʿallāt cemetery.

8. Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad, (who commented on *al-Istibṣār*), ibn Shaykh Ḥasan (author of *al-Maʿālim*) ibn Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Shahīd al-Thānī: He was an outstanding man, and an illustrious scholar who was matchless during his time, as reported in *Amal al-Āmil*. He resided in Makkah. He died in 1064 A.H., and was buried in al-Muʿallāt cemetery near his father's grave.

Some Shīʿites who died on the way to pilgrimage

Works of bibliographies such as *al-Dharīʿah* and biographies of outstanding personalities have mentioned that some Shīʿah scholars died on the way to, or back from, pilgrimage and ʿumrah, or were martyred at the hands of despots, unjust rulers or brigands. We are mentioning just two names to immortalize that group, because a complete list would require much space. The first is Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Rajā al-Bajalī who lived in Ṭāqāt ʿArinah. He died in the year 266 A.H. while returning from Makkah, and was buried at Dhāt al-ʿIrq. The second is Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, the philosopher and mystic, master of Islamic philosophers, pride of Shīʿism and Islamic jurisprudence, proponent of *Transcendental Philosophy* (*al-Ḥikmah al-Mutaʿāliyah*) system of Islamic philosophy, and author of many works, including *al-Asfār al-Arbaʿah*, his magnum opus. He died in al-Baṣrah (and was buried there) on his way back from his seventh ḥajj in the year 1050 A.H.

Some services the Shīʿah have rendered to the Two Holy Sanctuaries (i.e. Makkah and al-Madīnah)

Another topic that needs to be studied is the immense services that the partisans of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) have rendered to the two holy sanctuaries of Makkah and al-Madīnah over the past centuries. Al-Samʿānī mentions a sample of these services in his work *al-Ansāb*, under the entry: *al-Warāmīnī*. He says: Warāmīn is a large village among the villages of Ray. The man is a chief in that village, presently. He is rich and spends money for the development of the Two Sanctuaries and his son Ḥusayn al-Warāmīnī goes to ḥajj very often. He is fond of doing good work and giving in charity, but he is an extremist Shīʿite.

I have mentioned this topic as an invitation to diligent scholars and researchers to take up this issue and follow this pointer.

Some Shiʿah scholars who lived in al-Madīnah

1. Shaykh Sadīd al-Dīn Abū-Faḍl Shādān ibn Jibrāʾīl al-Qummī resided in al-Madīnah. He was a prominent jurist who wrote the treatise *Īẓāḥāt al-ʿIllah fī Maʿrifat al-Qiblah* (about some problems concerning the direction of prayer), which ʿAllāmah al-Majlisī incorporated entirely into his *Biḥār al-Anwār*. He wrote it is response to the request of Amīr al-Ḥajj Jamāl al-Dīn Farrāz ibn ʿAlī al-Baṣāʾirī al-Jurjānī in the year 558 A.H.

2. Sayyid Ḥasan al-ʿAssār al-Khurāsānī, an eminent scholar and a pious man, resided in al-Madīnah for a long time and returned to Mashhad in Iran. He died around 1359 A.H.

3. Shaykh Muʿīn al-Dīn ʿAbdakī al-Astrābādī, a virtuous and pious man resided in al-Madīnah.

4. Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Tūmānī: He died in al-Madīnah around the year 728 A.H.

I have mentioned these personalities that are but a sample of Shīʿah scholars who lived in al-Madīnah, as a hint that may help researchers in this subject, so that this list may be a stepping stone for those who wish to undertake this study.

AL-ʿURAYḌ

A resort of the Holy Imams where ʻAlī ibn Jaʻfar was buried

To the east of the noble city of al-Madīnah there used to be a village called al-ʿUrayḍ, which was at a distance of a few kilometers from the city, but it is now part of it. As in former times, al-ʿUrayḍ is a verdant place with many palm groves that are the source of income, then and now, to the tens of families which live there. There remains the stark difference between the simple dwellings of these people and the large modern buildings that have been constructed in al-Madīnah in recent times.

This village has two mosques: a small one where the inhabitants perform their daily prayers, which has not seen much by way of new developments, and a big one which was erected during the Ottoman period, which is now out of use, locked, deserted and tending to ruin.

As I have said, this village was a suburb lying within the environs of al-Madīnah and not part of the city. When the Apostle of God (ṣ) declared that al-Madīnah was an inviolable sanctuary—the way his God Almighty declared Makkah a sanctuary— he made al-ʿUrayḍ one of the points of its boundaries. Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) has said, "The Apostle of God (ṣ) declared al-Madīnah a sanctuary, from Dhubāb to Wāqim to al-ʿUrayḍ and to al-Naqb towards the direction of Makkah."

Al-ʿUrayḍ is characterized by mild weather and lush green fields, and its thick palm groves add to its natural beauty, as they always did over the centuries. It is mentioned in the traditions that the healthiest district of al-Madīnah, where one is protected from fever, was the area between the mountain pass of Banū-Qurayẓah and al-ʿUrayḍ.

The first incident that happened at al-ʿUrayḍ

Subsequent to the defeat of the Quraysh at the major battle of Badr when seventy of their men were slain, Abū-Sufyān vowed that he would never take the bath after spiritual impurity (*janābah*) until he had exacted revenge from Muslims. With that intention of revenge he mobilized a hundred men of Quraysh from Makkah, and they lodged with Mishkam the Jew, chief of the Banū-Naḍīr, who live around al-Madīnah. They raided al-ʿUrayḍ late at night and killed two peasants of the village, and fled to Makkah. When the

Prophet (ṣ) heard about the raid he dispatched some people to pursue them. In order that they would lighten their burden so that the Prophet's detachment should not overtake them, the Quraysh raiders dropped their provisions (which consisted of wheat mash) and fled back to Makkah, thus no engagement took place between the Muslims and the polytheists. It was on this account, namely the discarding of the wheat mash provisions by the fleeing Quraysh raiders, that this incident was called the expedition of al-Sawīq (wheat mash).

Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir purchases al-ʿUrayḍ

After the Prophet's emigration to al-Madīnah, it became the capital city of the Islamic nation, the second descending-place of Revelation and the fountainhead of Islamic knowledge. Consequently, we find that those desirous of power and fame would often go there and take it as the centre for the dissemination of their ideas, and seek support for their cause. To preserve their role as defenders of religion; interpreters of the law of the Master of the apostles (ṣ); elucidators of the lawful and the forbidden, the doctrines and the teachings in the Holy Qur'ān; and responders to the doubts that are raised by heretics and the misguided, the immaculate Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) did not support such calls or involve themselves in those fallacious movements. In that regard, Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa) decided to purchase a property near al-Madīnah to which he may withdraw when he deemed that necessary, during times when the political climate of the city was overwhelmed by darkness and strife.

Commenting on such situations, Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) said, "Surely an incident will happen in al-Madīnah from which a person who is away from the city by three miles will be saved, and it was because of it that al-ʿUrayḍ was bought. By God, my father did not live to witness that incident."

In another tradition Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) says: My father bought a property called al-ʿUrayḍ. He purchased it from its owner with some dinars (gold coins) and said, "I will pay you in silver, for each dinar I will give you ten dirhams (silver coins)," and the owner sold it for that.

Then my father rose and I followed him. I said, "Father, why did you rise quickly?"

He said, "I wanted to make the transaction binding."

This narration is counted among the evidences for the law of the right, for each of the parties, of unilateral revocation of a transaction before leaving the venue of the deal (*khiyār al-majlis*).

From the date Imam Bāqir (ʿa) bought that estate, it became a place frequented by the Imams (ʿa) and their children, families and partisans. A report says that Imam Abū-ʿAbdullāh al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) liked it very much, and whenever he wanted, he would go out of al-Madīnah to al-ʿUrayḍ. This report illustrates how the Imams used to observe the right etiquette and their respect for the Prophet's mosque and his sanctuary. They would not even allow themselves to stay in al-Madīnah and its holy precincts when they wanted to partake of a vegetable with unpleasant smell.

Historical records mention that Ismāʿīl the eldest son of Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) died at al-ʿUrayḍ during his father's lifetime, and that his bier was carried on the shoulders of men from there to al-Madīnah and buried at al-Baqīʿ cemetery.

Stories of the Holy Imams at al-ʻUrayḍ

1. Shaykh al-Ṣadūq relates in *mursal* fashion that Kāmil ibn ʿAlā' said: I was with Abū-Jaʿfar (ʿa) at al-ʿUrayḍ when a strong wind blew and he began saying *takbīr* and then said, "Chanting *takbīr* repels the wind."

2. Mutʿab a servant of Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) says: I was with Abū-ʿAbdullāh (ʿa) at al-ʿUrayḍ. He walked to a mosque in which his father used to worship. He went to a spot inside the mosque and prayed there. When he finished he said, "O Mutʿab, have you seen that place?"

I answered, "Yes."

He said, "[One day] my father was praying there when an old man walked in sat down and maintained silence. Then another man with brown complexion and a handsome face came looking for the first. He said to the old man, 'Why are you sitting here? This is not what you have been commanded to do.'

Then they rose and went away. Then they became hidden from me and I could no longer see anything. My father said, 'O my son, have you seen the old man and his companion?'

I said, 'Yes, who was the old man and his companion?'

He answered, 'The old man was the angel of death, and the one who came and sent him out was Gabriel (ʿa).'"

3. In *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt* it is related from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from al-Qāsim ibn Yaḥyā, from Ḥasan ibn Rāshid, from Yaʿqūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abī-Ṭālib who said: I heard Ibrāhīm ibn Wahab saying: I went out looking for Abū'l-Ḥasan at al-ʿUrayḍ.

I set out until I approached the Castle of Banū-Sarāt, and I descended the valley. Then I heard a voice without seeing the speaker. He was saying, "O Abū-Jaʿfar, your companion is behind the castle by the barrier. Extend my greeting to him."

I turned round but could not see anyone. Then the voice repeated the same words three times. This made me shudder. Then I descended further into the valley until I reached the road that passed behind the Castle without stepping inside it. I reached the barrier near the cluster of rushes and passed by the pond where I saw fifty snakes rearing their heads near the pond.

Then I listened and heard some talk and conversation, so I made some sound with my sandals so that my tread would be heard. Then I heard Abū'l-Ḥasan clear his throat, and I responded by clearing my throat. I looked around and kept quiet. Then I suddenly saw a snake clinging to the trunk of a tree. He said [to the snake], "Do not fear, there is no harm." Then it threw itself off the tree, climbed up his shoulder and put its head against his ear. It spoke to him in whistles and he answered, "Yes. I have decided between you and it is not right to oppose what I said. Only the unjust will do that and whoever acts unjustly in this world will face the punishment of the Fire in the hereafter, and a terrible chastisement I will mete out to him, and I will seize his possessions, if he has any, until he repents and makes amends."

I said, "May my father and mother be your ransom! Do you have the right of obedience on them?"

He answered, "Yes. By the One who has honored Muḥammad (ṣ) with the prophethood and exalted ʿAlī (ʿa) with the trusteeship and guardianship (*wiṣāyah and wilāyah*) they are indeed more obedient to us than you humans, although they are few."

That the angels had taken the form of man as we heard in the previous narration, the jinn, the form of snakes, as in the present narration, and Imam Bāqir (after his death), the form of Imams al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) and Kāẓim (ʿa) as mentioned in the following narration, does not indicate impossibility but relates to supernatural phenomena. Elsewhere, it has been shown that the embodiment of angels, jinn or dead humans is possible. Similarly human deeds can be embodied, a phenomenon some scholars call *concretization* of actions (*tajassum al-aʿmāl*).

4. Another report from *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt* says that Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad has related from Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd, from Ibrāhīm ibn Abī'l-Bilād (and Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn has also related from Ibrāhīm ibn Abī'l-Bilād), who

said: I said to Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Riḍā (ʿa): ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Ḥasan has informed from ʿUbaydah ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Bishr al-Khathʿamī that your father has said: I was riding behind my father on his mount as he travelled to al-ʿUrayḍ. An old man with grey head and beard came to him walking on foot. He dismounted and kissed him between his eyes. Then he [addressed the old man in complimentary terms, saying,]: "May I be your ransom," while latter advised him, and the last piece of advice he gave him was: "Keep the four units of prayer, do not ever miss them." Then my father stood up until the old man disappeared. Then he mounted. After that I said, "O father, who is this man for whom you did what I have never seen you do to anyone?" He replied, "This is my father, O my son."

5. Al-Kulaynī narrates in *al-Kāfī* from ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, from Ibn Jumhūr, from Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbdullāh, from Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdullāh, from al-Ghifārī who said: I owed some money to a man called Tīs from the family of Abū-Rāfiʿ, a freed slave of the Prophet (ṣ). He demanded his money and pressed me to pay, and the people supported him. Because of that, [the following day] I prayed the dawn prayer in the Prophet's mosque and set out to meet al-Riḍā (ʿa) who was then residing at al-ʿUrayḍ. When I was near his house I saw him coming on a donkey, wearing a shirt and a cloak. When I looked at him I felt ashamed. On meeting me he stopped and looked at me and I greeted him. It was the month of Ramaḍān. I said to him, "May God make me your ransom! I owe some money to Tīs, your client, and he is defaming me because of that."

I thought that he would restrain Tīs from harassing me, for, by God, I neither told him what I owed nor requested a particular amount. He asked me to wait until he returned.

I remained there until I prayed the sunset prayer, and I was fasting, so I became uneasy and thought of going away when I saw him coming with people accompanying him. Some beggars were also waiting for his return in expectation of getting alms from him. First, he entered the house then he came out and called me, so I rose and followed him in. We sat down and I began telling him about Ibn al-Musayyab, who was the governor of al-Madīnah, about whom I often told him. When I finished, he said, "I do not think you have broken your fast yet." I said I had not, so he asked his servant to bring me some food. When the food was brought, he asked the servant to eat with me and we ate. After the meal, he said to me, "Raise the pillow and take what is under it." I raised it and saw some dinars which I took and tied in my sleeve. Then he instructed four of his servants to escort me up to my house but I said, "May I be your ransom! Ibn Musayyab's police are on

patrol, and I dislike being seen with your servants." He said, "You are right, may God bestow guidance on you," and he asked them to return from where I would tell them to part from me. When we came close to my house and I felt safe, I told them to go.

I arrived at my house and asked for a lamp. When it was brought, I saw that the money was forty-eight dinars, while what I owed the man was twenty-four dinars. One of the gold coins was sparkling and its beauty attracted me so that I brought it nearer to the lamp. I saw that there was this clear inscription on it: "What is due to the man is twenty-four dinars and the rest are yours." And by God I did not tell him what I owed the man. All praise is due to God the Lord of all the worlds, He who has honored His saint.

6. In another narration al-Kulaynī relates that Aḥmad ibn Mihrān and ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm have heard from Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan al-Rāshid, from Yaʿqūb ibn Jaʿfar ibn Ibrāhīm who said: I was with Abū'l-Ḥasan Mūsā (ʿa) at al-ʿUrayḍ when a Christian came and said to him: I am from a distant country and I have arrived here after an arduous journey. I have been praying to my Lord for the past thirty years to guide me to the best religion and to the best and most learned of His servants. Someone came to me in a dream and described a man in the higher districts of Damascus. I went to meet him and talked to him. He said, "I am the most learned man of the followers of my religion but someone else is more knowledgeable than I am." I said to him, "Guide me to the one who is more knowledgeable than you. [Even if he lives in a far place I will go] because I am undaunted by travel and I do not bother about long distances. I have read the whole Bible, the Psalms of David, four books of the Hebrew Bible and the Qur'ān, as it appears outwardly, and I have understood them all."

The learned man said, "If you are after the knowledge of Christianity I am the most knowledgeable in it of all Arabs and non-Arabs. If you want the knowledge of Judaism then Batī ibn Shūrāḥbīl al-Sāmirī is the most learned in it today. If you are seeking the knowledge of Islam; the knowledge of the Torah; the knowledge of the Bible; the knowledge of the Psalms and the Book of Hūd; the knowledge of all what has been sent down to every Prophet (ṣ) in your era and in other eras, and all information that has been sent down from heaven which somebody knows or no one knows, in which resides the explanation of everything, the healing for all creatures, the comfort for whoever seeks comfort from it, insight for the one for whom God wills good and intimacy with the truth; then I guide you to him. Go to him even by walking on your feet, if you cannot then by crawling on your knees, if you cannot then by creeping on your buttocks, if you cannot then

even on your face."

I said, "No. I have the wherewithal and the body strength to make the journey."

He said, "Then set out without delay. Go to Yathrib."

I said, "I do not know Yathrib."

He said, "Go to the city of the Prophet (ṣ) who was sent forth among the Arabs. He was an Arab prophet from the Hāshimīte clan. When you enter the city ask for Banū-Ghumn ibn Mālik ibn al-Najjār, he lives near the mosque. Appear in your Christian vestment along with its ornaments because the governor is strict on Christians and the caliph is stricter. Then ask for Banū-ʿAmr ibn Mabdhūl who lives at Baqīʿ al-Zubayr quarter. Then ask for Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar, ask for his house and where he is, whether he is at home or travelling. If he has travelled follow him, for his journey would have been shorter than the one you would have already undertaken to look for him. Then tell him that the archbishop of Ghūṭah (that is Ghūṭah of Damascus) was the one who directed you to him. Tell him that I am greeting him very much and that I am incessantly beseeching my Lord to make me embrace Islam at his hands."

The man [met Imam Abū'l-Ḥasan Mūsā al-Kāẓim and] told the story standing and leaning on his staff. Then he said, "If you permit me, my lord, I will bow to you and sit down."

He said, "I will permit you to sit down but not to bow."

Then he sat down and put his hooded cloak aside and said, "May I be your ransom, will you permit me to talk?"

"Yes," he replied. "This is your sole purpose of coming."

Then the Christian said to him, "I repeatedly greeted my companion with the salaam, will you not return the greeting?"

Abū'l-Ḥasan (ʿa) said, "For your companion, [we say:] may God guide him. As for the greeting of salaam, it will be said to him when he embraces our religion."

The Christian said, "Can I ask you—may God make you prosper?"

He said, "Ask."

He said, "Tell me about the book of God Almighty which is sent down to Muḥammad and which he recited. (Then he described the Qur'ān more and

read the verses: *Ha Mim. By the Manifest Book. Indeed We sent it down on a blessed night, and indeed We have been warning [mankind]. Every definitive matter is resolved in it*.) What is the occult meaning of these verses?"

He said, "*Ha Mim* is [the name] Muḥammad (ṣ) and this is found in the Book of [Prophet] Hūd. Its letters are incomplete. *The Manifest Book* is the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī (ʿa), *the night* is Fāṭimah (ʿa), *Every definitive matter is resolved in it* means that much good will come from her, a wise man, then a wise man, then a wise man."

The man said, "Describe for me the first and the last of those men."

He said, "Their qualities are similar but I will describe the offspring of the third one. It is found in the books that have been sent down to you if you had not changed, interpolated and disbelieved, and you have done that long ago."

The Christian said to him, "I will not conceal what I know and I will not belie you, and you know the truth or falseness of what I say. By God, God has endowed you with His favor and given you a share of His blessings which people cannot imagine, and what cannot be concealed by those who would conceal it or denied by those who would deny it. So my word on this is that the truth is as you have mentioned, it is [indeed] as you have mentioned."

Imam Abū'l-Ḥasan Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ʿa) said, "I will quickly ask of you some information which only a few people who have read the books know. Tell me the name of Mary's mother, what day Mary was breathed upon, what hour of the day it was, and what day she gave birth to Jesus (ʿa)."

The Christian said, "I do not know."

Abū-Ibrāhīm (ʿa) said, "The name of Mary's mother was Martha which, in Arabic, means Wahībah (one given as gift). Mary conceived Jesus (i.e. he was breathed into her) on a Friday at noon, it was the day the Trusted Spirit descended. Muslims have no holiday that is more important than it. God the Blessed and Exalted glorified it, and Muḥammad (ṣ) glorified it and commanded that it should be considered a holiday. Thus it was a Friday. The day Mary delivered was a Tuesday, four and a half hours into the day."

Then he asked him, "Do you know the river on whose bank Mary gave birth to Jesus (ʿa)?"

He said, "No."

He said, "It was the Euphrates. There are date palms and grape vines along its banks and no other place has the like of Euphrates's palm groves and

vines. As for the day her tongue was restrained, when Qaydūs called his children and supporters to help him and they sent the family of ʿImrān [outside the city] to look at Mary, where they spoke to her. What God has told you in His book and what He has told us in His book, do you understand it?"

He said, "Yes, and I have just recently read it."

He said, "Then you will not leave this place until God gives you guidance."

The Christian said, "What was my mother's name in Syriac and Arabic?"

He said, "Your mother's name in Syriac was Anqliya and that of your paternal grandmother was Unqura. Your mother's name in Arabic was Mayya and the name of your father was ʿAbd al-Masīḥ (i.e. the Messiah's slave) which is ʿAbdullāh in Arabic, for the Messiah has no slave."

The man said, "You have said the truth. What was the name of my grandfather?"

He answered him, "Your grandfather's name was Jabra'īl (Gabriel) which means ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (the slave of the Merciful). Thus have I named him in this place."

The man said, "Was he Muslim?"

Abū-Ibrāhīm (ʿa) answered, "Yes, and he was killed a martyr. Some troops broke into his house and assassinated him. The troops were from Syria."

The man said, "What was my name before my tecknonym?"

He said, "Your name was ʿAbd al-Ṣalīb (slave of the Cross)."

He said, "What will you name me?"

He said, "I will name you ʿAbdullāh."

The man said, "I believe in God the Magnificent and bear witness that there is no deity except God, One who has no associate, the Unique, the All-sustaining; unlike what the Christians attribute to Him and unlike what the Jews attribute to Him, there is no form of polytheism with Him. I bear witness that Muḥammad is his servant and apostle. He has sent him forth with the truth by which he elucidated for those who are receptive to it while the falsifiers are sightless. I bear witness that he was God's apostle to all mankind, the red and the black; all are associates as heirs to his call. Some perceived the truth and took to guidance, the falsifiers became blinded and their false claim came to naught. I bear witness that his testamentary legatee

has expressed his wisdom, that the prophets before him had communicated far-reaching wisdom and helped one another in obedience to God. They had parted with falsehood and its people and with impurity and those involved in it. They had abandoned the path of error and God helped them in obedience to Him and safeguarded them against committing disobedience; they were His friends and defenders of religion, they urge the people to do good and command it. I believe in their small one and their big one, those I have mentioned and those I have not. I believe in God the Blessed, Lord of all the worlds."

Then he cut off his belt and a golden cross that was hanging on his neck.

Then he said, "Instruct me where to give my alms."

Abū-Ibrāhīm (ʿa) said, "There is a brother of yours here who was a follower of your former religion. He is your kinsman from Qays ibn Thaʿlabah [branch of your clan] and is prosperous like you, so assist one another and be neighbors. I will not be allowed to give the two of you your due in Islam."

The man said, "May God make you prosper! By God, I am rich. I have [in my country] three hundred stallions and mares, one thousand camels, therefore your due from them is more than mine [from you]."

He said, "You are God's and His Apostle's client and you [will be treated] as if you are among your kinsmen."

The man became a good Muslim. He married a woman from Banū-Fihr clan and Abū-Ibrāhīm (ʿa) gave the dowry, fifty dinars from the endowment of ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (ʿa). He also provided him with a servant and residence. The man stayed there until the time Abū-Ibrāhīm (ʿa) was expelled [from al-Madīnah by the rulers]. He died twenty days after that.

I have mentioned these narrations to show that, after Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir bought al-ʿUrayḍ, it became a frequented resort for the Holy Imams (ʿa), a frequent source of succor for people in need, and a center of hope for seekers of guidance. We do not know what miracles, what revelation of hidden matters, what instances of guidance took place in this small village at the hands of the Imams of guidance, the Guided, peace be upon them all.

Concerning ʿAlī son of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq

ʿAlī was the youngest child of Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa). His father died when he was only a child, so Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ʿa) the best among his brothers, and the Imam after his father, became his guardian. ʿAlī gained great knowledge from his elder brother and narrated a large number of reports from him.

Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nuʿmān al-Mufīd says: ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar was a prominent narrator of *ḥadīth* with an accurate path of transmission. He was very pious and possessed great excellence. He was a close companion of his brother Mūsā (ʿa), from whom he related many narrations.

Elsewhere, al-Mufīd says: ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar was very devoted to his brother Mūsā. He learnt the principles of religion from him. He related some well known issues and their answers, having heard them directly from him. Reports concerning this matter are innumerable, as we described and explained earlier.

The narrations of ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar have been collected in a book titled *Masā'il 'Alī ibn Ja'far* (Issues of ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar) which has been accorded great importance and reprinted repeatedly.

ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar lived a long and fruitful life. He lived with his father Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) and narrated from him. Then he became the companion of his brother Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ʿa), then his nephew Imam ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (ʿa), then his brother's grandson Imam Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Jawād (ʿa) and great grandson Imam ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Hādī (ʿa). His father Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) died in the year 148 A.H. and since ʿAlī had narrated from him, he must have reached the age of discretion at his father's death. And because he was alive when Imam al-Hādī was martyred in 254 A.H. he must have lived for more than a hundred and ten years.

ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar enjoyed ample special characteristics such as wide knowledge, strong piety and a firm belief in the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa), apart from his being the son of an Imam, the brother of an Imam and the uncle of Imams. He maintained a study circle in the Prophet's mosque in al-Madīnah where seekers of knowledge drank from his fountain. In his preface on *Masā'il 'Alī ibn Ja'far*, Sayyid al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī lists the names of forty-three people from the students who had heard directly from him and then related to others.

Because of his close relationship and intimate contact with the Imams, ʿAlī had the singular honor of learning the Islamic sciences from their pure source. On the other hand, he had the right qualities of a successful student who was able to imbibe knowledge and transmit it to others. A number of reports have come down to us describing ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar's untainted belief in the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) and support for them, and that he was never jealous of their position despite the fact that he was a direct son of Imam al-Ṣādiq (ʿa).

Al-Kashshī narrates in his *Rijāl* from Ḥamdawayh ibn Nāṣir, from Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā al-Khashshāb, from ʿAlī ibn Asbāṭ and others, from ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad who said: A man I think was among the Wāqifiyyah asked me, "What has become of your brother Abū'l-Ḥasan?"

I said, "He has died."

He said, "How do you know that?"

I said, "His possessions have been divided [among his heirs], his wives have remarried and the Speaker after him has spoken."

He said, "Who is the Speaker after him?"

I said, "His son Abū-Jaʿfar."

He said, "With your age, position, and being the son of Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad, you are making this statement concerning this youth?"

I said to him, "I think you are only a devil."

Then ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar held his beard, pulled it up and said, "What can I do if God considers him as deserving it (the Imamate) and does not consider these grey hairs as deserving?"

Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd says: I heard ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad saying: I heard my father Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa) telling a group of his close disciples: Take good care of my son Mūsā because he is the best of my children, the one I will leave behind, he is the one who will succeed me, and after me, the Proof of God the Mighty and Sublime against all His creation.

In *Qurb al-Isnād* it is related that ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar said: I travelled with my brother Mūsā on four *'umrāt* in all of which he travelled to Makkah on foot and took his family and household with him. In one he walked for twenty-six days, in another twenty-five, in the third twenty-four and in the fourth twenty.

This report indicates the closeness of ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar to his brother Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ʿa). It shows how he treated him as one of his household, whether at home or during his journeys.

In another report ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar said: I sucked Abū-Jaʿfar's saliva and said to him, "I bear witness that you are my imam before God."

Al-Riḍā (ʿa) wept and said, "O Uncle! Did you not hear my father saying that the Apostle of God (ṣ) has said: May my father be the ransom of the son of the noblest slave-woman, the son of the Nubian woman with fragrant

mouth and fertile womb. (Woe unto them! May God curse al-Uʿaybis and his offspring, causer of sedition. May He kill them for years, months and days; cause the earth to swallow them up; and force them to drink from the full goblet [of death]!) He is the pursued, the expelled, one who is denied the revenge (*mawtūr*) of his murdered father and grandfather, the one who will go into occultation. It will be said: He has died or perished, which way has he gone? Will all this be known except from me, O Uncle?"

I said, "You have told the truth, may I be your ransom."

Al-Kulaynī relates from Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad, from Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Nahdī, from Muḥammad ibn Khallād al-Ṣayqalī, from Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAmmār who said: One day, I was sitting with ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad in al-Madīnah (I had spent two years with him writing down what he had heard from his brother (i.e. Abū'l-Ḥasan Mūsā al-Kāẓim), when Abū-Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī entered the mosque (the mosque of the Prophet) and went towards him. ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar immediately stood up without putting on his cloak or his shoes and kissed his hand in reverence. Abū-Jaʿfar al-Jawād (ʿa) said, "Sit down, Uncle. May God show you mercy."

Then he said, "My master, how can I sit down while you are standing?"

When ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar returned to his seat, his companions rebuked him saying, "You are his father's uncle and you are doing this to him?"

He said, "Keep quiet, if God does not consider these grey hairs—and he held his beard—deserving (Imamate) but considers this young man deserving and places where He has placed him, should I deny his superiority? We seek refuge with God from what you are saying. Rather I am his slave!"

ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar's connection with al-ʿUrayḍ

We have mentioned earlier that al-ʿUrayḍ was purchased by Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ʿa). After his demise this estate passed to Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ʿa) who specified in his will that it should pass to his youngest son ʿAlī after his death. When ʿAlī grew up he took residence there. In his brief biography of ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar, al-Najjāshī says: He lived in al-ʿUrayḍ near al-Madīnah and his children were known by the name of that place. Al-Zubaydī writes in *Tāj al-ʿArūs*: Al-ʿUrayd is a valley in al-Madīnah and it was the place that Imam Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn al-ʿUrayḍī was known by, because he had settled there and his children were known as al-ʿUrayḍiyyūn after the place. They are numerous and had increased.

Although al-ʿUrayḍ became ʿAlī's property after his father, it remained a resort that was frequented by the immaculate Imams (ʿa) because of ʿAlī's strong connection with them. We have already mentioned this with regard to Imam Kāẓim (ʿa) and Imam Riḍā (ʿa) and the context of the narrations indicate that the Imams had houses where they lived whenever they visited al-ʿUrayḍ, and that they did not lodge as guests in ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar's house.

Among ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar's offspring there were many illustrious men, narrators of traditions and scholars, who were known by the surname al-ʿUrayḍī. They are mentioned in works of lineages (*ansāb*) and biographical writings (*tarājim*).

Where is ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar's grave?

Some writers of brief biographies have mentioned three places as spots where ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar was buried:

1. In Qumm is a large ancient tomb that is called the tomb of ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar. Over this grave there is a high gilded cupola which is part of the cultural heritage of Iran. Around this tomb are many graves of believers in this cemetery, which is called *Dar-e Behesht*, meaning Gate of Paradise. Many martyrs of the Imposed War, which the defunct Baath government of Iraq under Saddam Hussein waged on the Islamic Republic of Iran, are buried there and it is a place that is visited by believers, men and women. Al-Majlisī, the senior, believed that this tomb is actually that of ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar. He says: His preeminence is too obvious to warrant further explanation. His tomb in Qumm is well known. I heard that the people of al-Kūfah pleaded with him to visit them from al-Madīnah. He stayed in al-Kūfah for some time, in which they received what he knew of the narrations and he took from them what they knew. After that the people of Qumm invited him to their city and he accepted their invitation. He lived in Qumm thereafter, and died there. May God be pleased with him. His descendants have spread in many countries. In Iṣfahān there are the graves of some of his offspring, among which is that of Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn in Sin Bakhor village, which is a place of pilgrimage. The Sayyids of Natanz city are mostly his descendants, some of whom are Sayyid Abū'l-Maʿālī, Sayyid Abū-ʿAlī and their descendants who lived in Iṣfahān and produced outstanding men in religious and worldly concerns.

However al-Majlisī the junior, son of the elder al-Majlisī, held a different view where he said: The assertion that he was buried in Qumm is not mentioned in recognized works, although the sign of his venerated tomb is found there with his name written on it.

2. In Semnan there is a tomb outside the city which is also known as ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar's tomb. There is a high dome over it and surrounding it is a courtyard that is the epitome of cleanliness.

3. At al-ʿUrayḍ: Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn mentions in *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah* two graves in Qumm and in Semnan and adds: The reality is that his grave is in al-ʿUrayḍ near al-Madīnah, as is well known among the people of al-Madīnah. There is a high dome over his tomb and it is a visiting place.

Ibrāhīm Rifʿat Pasha writes: One of the tombs that are found outside al-Baqīʿ is that of Shaykh ʿAlī al-ʿUrayḍī. It is situated at a place, the distance of an hour's journey, to the east of al-Madīnah.

Al-Muḥaddith al-Nūrī provides some arguments in refutation of the view of al-Majlisī the first, that ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar was buried in Qumm, then he refuted the opinion that he was buried in Semnan also and inferred that the truth is that his grave is in al-ʿUrayḍ as is well known among the people of al-Madīnah. We have stopped over there during some of our journeys. There is a tall cupola over the tomb. And this view of ours is supported by commonsense, as is obvious.

Concerning this issue, when I called on my master, Ayatollah Ḥasanzādeh Āmulī to bid him farewell on one of my journeys for the pilgrimage, he said to me, "When you go to the Radiant city of al-Madīnah visit the tomb of ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar at al-ʿUrayḍ."

When we reached al-Madīnah we went to al-ʿUrayḍ and after enquiries we found a tomb the size of one room beside the minaret of the old mosque that was built during the rule of the Ottomans. The roof of the tomb had been damaged and its door sealed with bricks and cement. It appeared to us that this was really ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar's tomb because we found no other in that village.

What Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn and Muḥaddith Nūrī said was that over ʿAlī's tomb there was a tall dome that may have been true during their time, but after the tombs of the Ahl al-Bayt (ʿa) were demolished by the Wahhabis, that tomb also was not an exception. By that wanton destruction they wanted to eliminate these places from the minds of Muslims. These destructions were a part of the havoc they wreaked on the historical sites of al-Madīnah and Makkah, as well as the mausoleums of the Imams (ʿa) in Iraq.

Another question worth asking is whether, apart from ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar, someone else had been buried in this tomb at al-ʿUrayḍ? I do not know and I have found no evidence on that, perhaps later some scholar may find out

something in that regard. However, in one of my visits to this grave, I saw an Egyptian man reading the Qur'ān and reciting supplications for the dead. On asking him the reason for his visit to al-ʿUrayḍ and the tomb, he said that his father was buried in the tomb.

It behoves the honorable pilgrims who are fortunate to visit the city of al-Madīnah to go to al-ʿUrayḍ and visit the tomb of someone who was the son of an Imam, the brother of an Imam and the uncle of some Imams (ʿa) ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar, and this is also a pilgrimage to the land that had been a frequenting place for the Imams (ʿa), friends of God. A view of al-ʿUrayḍ transports the faithful souls to by-gone ages, when this piece of land was a centre of leaning and mentioning God's name, an abode of pious people, descendants of the Apostle, the Commander of the Faithful and Fāṭimah, peace be upon them. It reminds one of the past and connects it with the present and the future. It strengthens the spiritual bond between the pilgrim and those pure holy souls.

It is indeed very unfortunate that while writing this book the news came that the tomb of ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar at al-ʿUrayḍ and the old mosque of the village, which was built by the Ottomans, had been demolished by the Saudi authorities around the month of Jumādā al-Ūlā of the year 1423 A.H. and not a trace of it has remained!

In an era in which non-Muslims endeavor to preserve the marks of their great ones and are proud of them, we say woe to a people who have no qualms in destroying the relics of their great people. Certainly, the existence of tangible manifestations of the past and venerated heritage sites reminds of important men and women of a nation or a community and serves to immortalize them, and in this way projects their influence over subsequent generations and eras. Indeed wiping out the marks left by Muslim historical figures is abominable and disgusting to all fair minds, because of the inestimable harm it does to Islamic religion and culture.

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